

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

## The Monitor's view

### Back to SALT

Former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger rates the chances of a new strategic arms agreement as less than 50-50. Even given these slim odds, we are glad to read that Washington and Moscow are trying to get the stalled SALT negotiations on track again.

There are obvious political problems for President Ford. After the firing of Mr. Schlesinger, he will be open to even more criticism by defense hard-liners regardless of what agreement he produces. He will therefore have to submit a tough accord that can run the gauntlet of approval by the Defense Department, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Congress.

In any case, the President appears to think that he stands to gain more political advantage than disadvantage by coming up with a SALT treaty in an election year. There is talk of a Kissinger trip to Moscow or even another Ford-Brezhnev meeting to try to get a breakthrough.

Let's review briefly where SALT stands. At Vladivostok in late 1974 the two leaders set a limit of 2,400 offensive strategic delivery vehicles for each side. Of these, 1,320 missiles could have MIRVs, the cluster of nuclear warheads that can be independently targeted.

A major stumbling block now is what should be counted under the 2,400 limit. Washington wants to include the Soviet Backfire bomber, a medium-range aircraft which, if refueled in air, could drop bombs over the United States. The Russians, for their part, are concerned about American development of the so-called cruise missiles. They would like to ban all but those with short range.

Ironically, Henry Kissinger kept the cruise missile in the budget only as a bargaining chip. The Defense Department wasn't interested in it. Because of technological developments, however, these subsonic missiles now have a number of features that the military services find extremely attractive. They are astonishingly accurate. They can travel farther on much less fuel than was once the case. They can be fired from airplanes, ships or submarines and are hard to shoot down because they fly so low. They can effectively carry either nonnuclear explosives capable of exploding at great depths or miniaturized nuclear warheads. And — they are relatively cheap.

The United States is not yet deploying these guided missiles but it is thought they will become operational in a few years' time. If there is no SALT pact, there will obviously be a reaction by the Soviet Union, which will also rush to further develop and deploy these weapons. Disarmament experts point out that American cities and aircraft carriers would become highly vulnerable if Soviet offshore

and sea-based ships were equipped with long-range cruise missiles.

Hence a postponement of SALT two or more years will only compound the complexity of problems that will have to be dealt with. One problem, for instance, is that once deployed it is hard to detect by satellite what the range of a cruise missile is.

The net effect would be to make a SALT treaty all the more difficult to reach and unravel the preliminary accords already agreed upon. Some argue that from a security point of view the United States might even find itself worse off.

In short, another nuclear genie seems to be out of the bottle, and before it can work its mischief on the cause of disarmament a strong, concerted effort should be made to get it back in. To do this, President Ford will have to take his case to the American people and show that SALT is in the U.S. interest. This won't be easy in 1976, but the President should look to the good sense of Americans generally and not the political rhetoric of his opponents in vigorously pushing forward.

### Hello, Nessie

Well, it's happened again. Another self-assured observer has come forth with positive proof that the enigmatic and elusive Loch Ness monster really exists beyond the imagination of man.

Ever since St. Columba announced the first sighting in A.D. 565, humans have made such claims with marked regularity, basing their belief nowadays on such newfangled devices as sonar, submarines, and automatic stroboscopic cameras. This time it's the Academy of Applied Science in Boston, which will shortly disclose its photographs at a symposium in Edinburgh.

Rather than dispel the myth of Nessie and her family of prehistoric leftovers, such announcements of course only heighten the mystery and work to the advantage of Scotland's tourist bureau. But we're a bit apprehensive about these more authoritative findings.

It's not that we doubt the existence of Nessie (or her cousins Yeti and Bigfoot). Quite the contrary. In this age, far more incredible things have proven true.

Our concern is that by photographing, measuring, weighing, interviewing ("Tell me, Nessie, what is your opinion on independence for Scotland?") and otherwise intruding on the privacy of what seems to be a shy but altogether lovable beast, a major bit of the fairy-tale mystery that beclouds adults and children alike on planet Earth will have been chipped away.

allies were not consulted in advance when Mr. Moynihan recently introduced a resolution calling for a worldwide amnesty for political prisoners, a resolution they were expected to cosponsor.

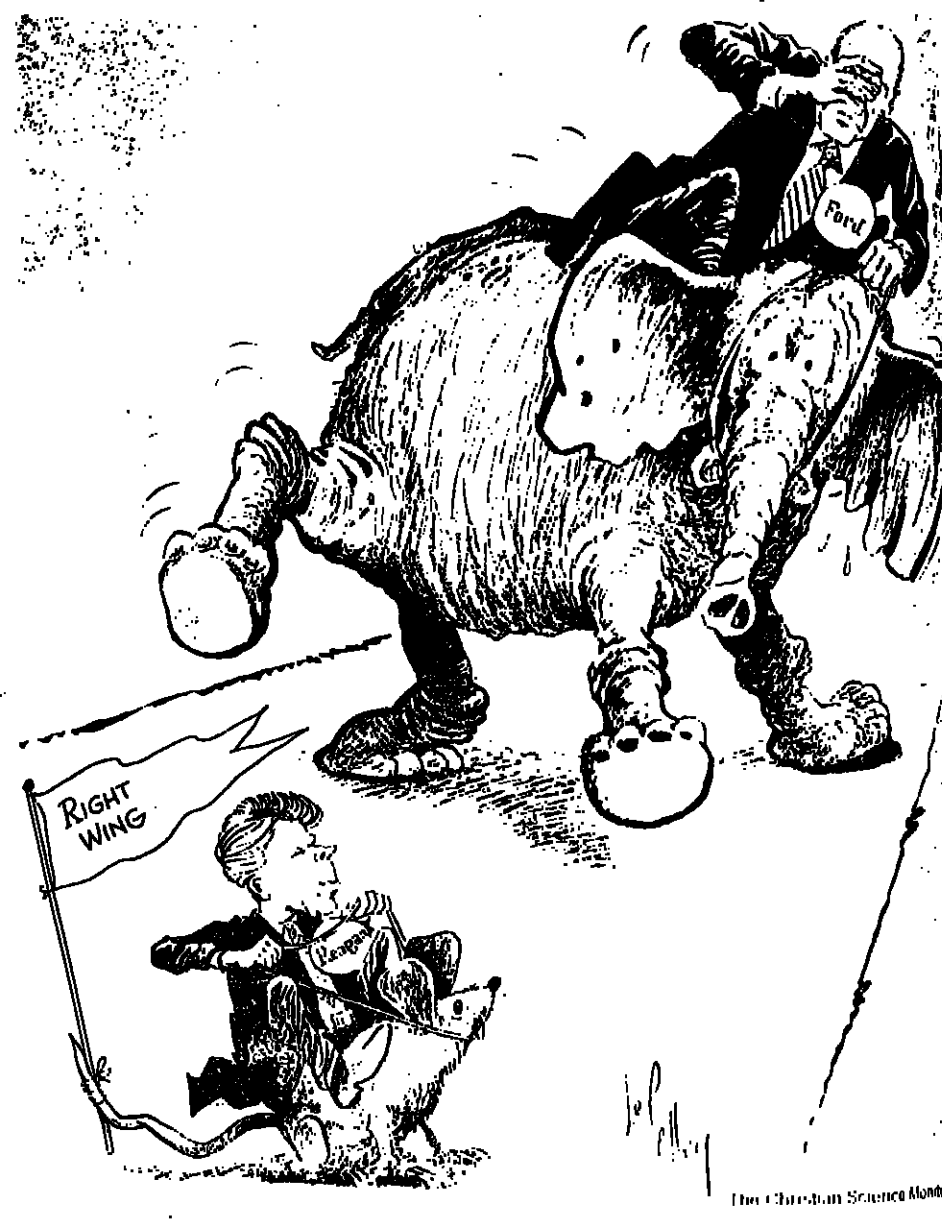
This is not to say that Mr. Moynihan should abandon a firm and forceful line on issues before the UN. We welcomed his appointment five months ago precisely because we thought a U.S. stance of candor and blunt speaking would be effective and that his "wit and elan" would enable him to carry this off without offending people.

Somehow that wit has not been called into use, or at least not accompanied by diplomatic tact. Surely it is possible to make strong, candid diplomatic points and to take an independent stand without giving offense.

We agree with Mr. Moynihan that the U.S. should not be "supersensitive" about the feelings of new nations, or "passive" and "compliant" in the UN forum. But in the very article in Commentary where Mr. Moynihan raises these propositions he also suggests that the U.S. can seek "common cause" with the third world. There exists, he wrote, the "strongest possibility of an accommodating relationship at the level of principle — a possibility that does not exist at all with the totalitarian powers."

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"They say an elephant isn't afraid of anything except a mouse"



### Assassination plots and remedies

No one said the United States of America was perfect. But it does have a self-correcting form of government. And it almost seems to have set out to start its third century with all the sins of the past brought to light so that the future can be brought back into line with the founders' noble vision.

The abhorrent nature of the past government abuses most recently disclosed should not blind the world to the fact that in America such abuses still can be made public.

Nor should the American people, seeing the exposed deceptions of Watergate and Vietnam followed by a litany of others, be numb to the Senate intelligence committee's confirmation of assassination plots that had begun to seem like old news.

The committee recognizes that these plots against foreign leaders — during both Republican and Democratic administrations — took place in the Cold War context. This does not justify the plots, as the committee rightly says. But "those involved nevertheless appeared to believe they were advancing the best interests of their country."

What the committee convincingly argues is that the plotters were not advancing the best interests of their country. Not pragmatically — they found, for example, that they could not control dissident groups they encouraged. Certainly not morally.

It is good to hear President Ford's spokesman say that Mr. Ford "absolutely abhors government officials being involved in consideration of those kinds of things." But Mr. Ford's opposition to releasing the report appeared to contradict his assurances of supporting open government. To make such assurances credible, he needs to follow through now in behalf of legislation to correct the misuse of secrecy and secret agencies in the past.

For one of the most startling findings of the Senate committee was the way government

officials, presumably including presidents, sought "plausible deniability." That is, they spoke in euphemisms and ambiguities, so that it was difficult to say who actually authorized what.

This means of evading responsibility must be attacked in the forthcoming legislation. A joint congressional oversight committee, similar to the one on atomic energy, sounds like a good proposal. Other machinery for lines of accountability can help. But the quality of the leadership up and down the line will finally determine whether responsibility for overseeing secret activities is exercised more effectively than in the past.

Surely, for example, there should be no tacit understandings permitting the CIA to recruit Mafia figures again. The unholy alliance between government and the underworld not only is morally wrong. It also opens the government to blackmail. The committee notes that crime figures in the Castro assassination plot used their involvement with the CIA to avoid prosecution.

"Crime is contagious," says the committee, quoting former Justice Brandeis of the Supreme Court. "If the government becomes a law-breaker, it breeds contempt for the law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself."

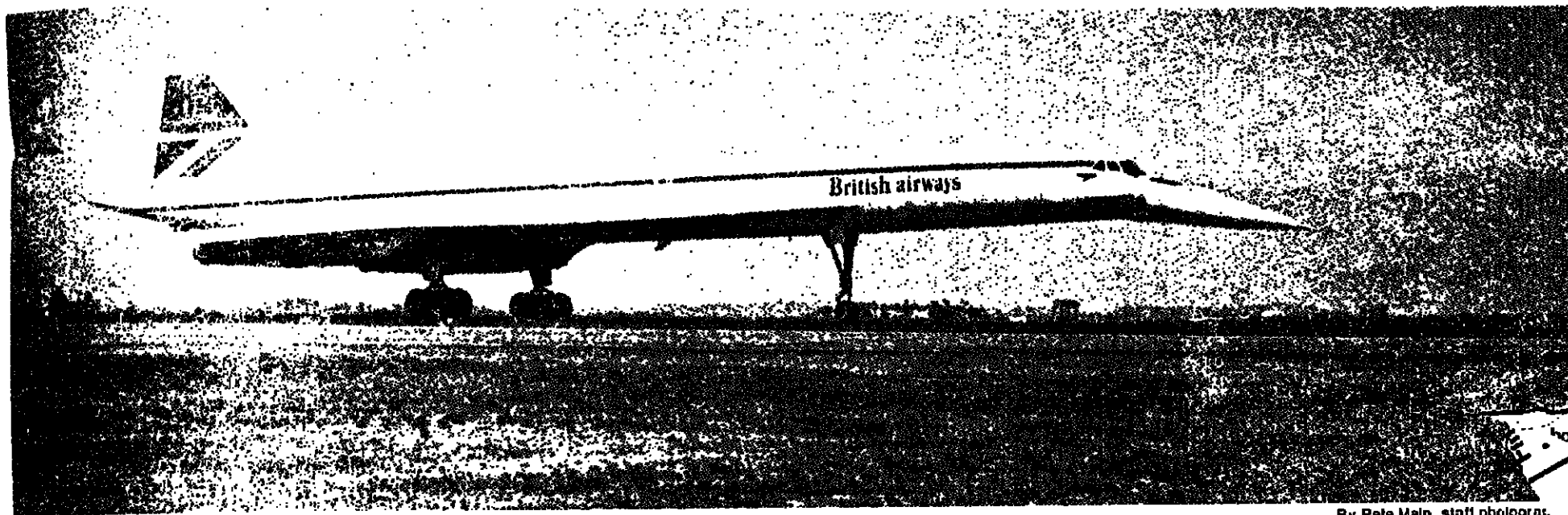
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WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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Controversial Concorde lands at Boston's Logan airport in 1974 promotional visit

## Concorde: U.S. thumbs down? Britannia would waive the rules

By Peter C. Stuart  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The first faint rumblings of a U.S. "no" to the Anglo-French Concorde now may be coming from Washington.

The government's top pollution fighter, Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Administrator Russell E. Train, told a congressional subcommittee Tuesday (Dec. 9) that his "preliminary view" is that "any landings of the Concorde at John F. Kennedy [airport in New York City] would be undesirable, and any landings at Dulles [airport in Washington] look increasingly questionable."

Many speculate that his testimony may foreshadow a full-fledged EPA reversal of an earlier position at Department of Transportation hear-

ings Jan. 5 on the Concorde decision — and ultimate disapproval from Secretary of Transportation William T. Coleman Jr. by his self-imposed deadline of Feb. 6.

He said his agency has "decided to re-evaluate" its stand last February which it then acquiesced to four Concorde round-trip flights a day at New York and two at Washington starting April 1.

The reasons: new data on the planes' noise, coupled with nagging worries on its air pollution.

"It was thought that the Concorde would have a noise pattern roughly equivalent to the [standard] Boeing 707," Mr. Train explained. But new figures from the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), he said, show that "on takeoff the Concorde would be perceived as at least twice as loud as the Boeing 707, and four times as

loud as the Boeing 747 and the DC-10 [jumbo jets]."

Calling the case for admitting the Anglo-French plane to the United States "discredited," Concorde foe Rep. Lester L. Wolff (D) of New York told the same House subcommittee that he has "hope of seeing the course of our government turned away from Concorde and back toward the interests of the American people."

The new data show that Concorde's taking off at Dulles airport would blanket a swath of northern Virginia up to five miles wide and 63 miles from the airport — potentially 485 square miles — with a noise level equivalent to a subway train pulling into a station.

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By Francis Reuny

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Recent visitors here from London have been heard to wonder whether the British government still remembers that its people voted, only a few months ago, to stay in the Common Market.

One Market official complained to this reporter that when he was not studying United Kingdom requests to be allowed to depart from the rules, he was studying complaints from other members that Britain was departing from them without asking at all. A Conservative speech-maker taunted that, now incapable of ruling the waves, Britannia was specializing in waiving the rules.

Part of the British answer is that Brussels is a lot too fond of rules — some of them nonsensical, others prepared without consulting Britain and hardly applicable to British conditions. There is certainly a fundamental and historic clash of traditions: the continental Europeans, brought up under the Roman, Napoleonic and Hitlerite empires, are much more inclined to treat bureaucrats with respect.

There are three main issues over which the Wilson government has been getting into trouble. The first was over representation at the December 16th conference on International Economic Cooperation. Attendance was to be limited to 27, and the Common Market had been promised one seat to represent all its members. Britain, however, demanded an extra seat for itself on the grounds that it was in the process of becoming Western Europe's one big oil producer and so had special interests to protect.

Foreign Secretary James Callaghan did not make himself loved by veiled threats that if Britain did not get her way, then nobody from the Market should go. His attitude reflects Labour Party suspicions that the non-oil-producing Eight covet Britain's oil and would dearly love to "Europeanize" it. Continental social democrats are often shocked at what they regard as their British brothers' chauvinism. Inevitably there was a compromise solution, but it was bound to leave a legacy of doubt and of dissatisfaction to help Britain out of its economic woes.

The second issue between the British and the continentals concerns the import restrictions contemplated by the Labour government to protect jobs in industries threatened by foreign competition. The bedrock foundation of the European Community is free and unfettered trade among its members, and for a newly confirmed member to start picking away at those foundations is seen as heresy and treason — especially by the Germans. To the socialist government of Britain, the Germans are a great deal too fond of unrestrained market forces.

But again, the British are unimpressed. They don't (they say) intend to do anything without consulting their European partners, if only to see whether retaliation against British exports would cancel out any advantages. In fact a good deal of bluff is suspected. The British go on to point out that the continentals can't have things both ways: they shouldn't urge Britain to balance its books, and then cry out in horror when it takes steps towards doing so.

Third, the Wilson government has been in trouble for straggling its feet towards the objective of a more democratic Community — in particular, towards direct elections (instead of government nominations) for the European Parliament. This might seem a curious thing for participation-conscious Labour to oppose, and Mr. Wilson would insist he was not opposed to it, only that (with Scottish and Welsh devolution to worry about) Britain would be hard put to it to meet the target date of 1976.

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### Israel nudged on PLO

By David Anable  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Public support, private pressure. As seen from here, that seems to be the Ford administration's current, somewhat ambivalent attitude toward Israel. Two Security Council meetings and another one scheduled for next month are cited here as illustrating the U.S. effort on the one hand to nudge the Israeli government toward a new Palestinian policy and on the other to reassure Israelis of continued American backing.

In this view it is the private pressure for change that is by far the most significant of the two American "faces."

The public avowals of support, including the U.S. veto Dec. 8 of a "one-sided" condemnation of last week's Israeli air strikes into Lebanon, are described as an essential show of American understanding at a highly sensitive period for the Israeli Government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Israel has ruled out any talks with guerrilla groups such as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It sees the PLO as a "coterie of feuding terrorist gangs" dedicated to Israel's ultimate destruction.

The PLO's diplomatic successes here, just after a terror bomb-killed six people in Jerusalem last month, make the issue all the more politically explosive for Mr. Rabin.

### Angola: Soviet guns turn tide

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, New York

Angola's two comparatively pro-Western factions have suffered serious political and military reverses.

But American and other experts who make this assessment do not view these setbacks as irreversible.

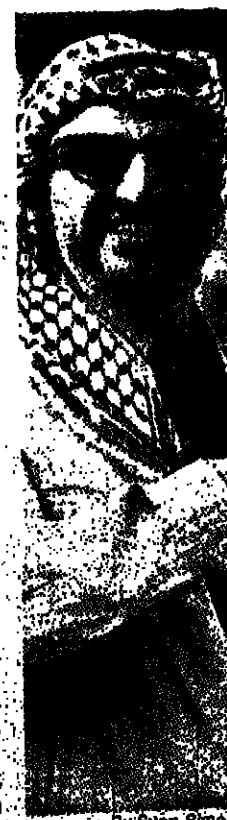
Rather they are seen as yet another tilt of the Angola seesaw, with the end result of the civil war as unpredictable as ever — and dependent on the extent of outside intervention.

"It could go on for three weeks, three months, or three years," commented one well-informed source here. Certainly there is little sign yet of the sort of stalemate that diplomats hope might prompt negotiations.

Instead, these sources say, the Angolan battlefield is threatening to become much wider and more dangerous — in effect a southern Africa battleground.

For, as South African involvement deep in Angola becomes increasingly obvious, black African attitudes are crystallizing against it. Hence the war veers toward a black-white confrontation as well as an East-West one with the Soviet Union backing the majority

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Yitzhak Rabin



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## FOCUS

## A pet show in a class of its own

By Gerald Priestland

Camden, London  
"We only want rodents with twitchy whiskers — if they don't twitch, they're disqualified!"

At this, a score of children hoisted cages of rats, mice, gerbils and guinea-pigs into their arms and made for the judging ring. The man with the microphone was conducting the London Borough of Camden's Second Annual Light-hearted Pet Show.

Said chief judge and local vet Freddie Peters: "It's actually an anti-show: it's meant to neutralize the solemnity of the high class cat and dog shows and give the children a chance to take pride in the animals they love, however scruffy they are."

The heart of Camden, in North London, is the old village of Hampstead. Hampstead has been a centre for artists and lovers of beauty more than 200 years, and never more so than now. A disused public library has been turned into the borough arts center, and on this particular Sunday — being between exhibitions — the display rooms were crammed with decorative and expressive pets.

I had better declare my own interest by explaining that my 14-year-old daughter was exhibiting a rabbit, a basset hound, and a female Burmese cat.

The arts center was crammed with life: some of it on two legs and some on four. There were 50 or more convivial dogs, as many cats — looking introverted and philosophical — and two or three dozen petrified rabbits. Birds, rodents, reptiles and the lower forms of life were past number. It was far and away the happiest happening in a bleak week.

In the principal gallery, the judge's table was so besieged by pet-loving toddlers that those with animals to exhibit could hardly make their way through. "Competitors only in the ring," cried the man with the microphone. Mr. Peters and his two lady assistants had finished with twitchy whiskers and moved on to the class for Cats with the Longest Whiskers. There was some danger of getting scratched. Peters wielded a steel tape-measure circumspectly.

"Allowing for curvature," he confided, "I make that eleven-point-five centimeters." A tabby named Tellecherry Peppercorn McCavity Esquire (alias "Pepper") was stuffed snarling back into his basket.

Next class: "The pet most like its owner. Cats, dogs, rats, anything! If you've got the same color hair as your hamster, bring him along. . . ." One boy brought a frog. Several girls brushed their hair over their eyes and tried to look like old English sheepdogs. Everywhere, lolling tongues and begging paws.

There followed a class for Unusual Markings. This produced a rather nasty salamander, some stripey birds, a classic American-style calico cat, and an astonishing white cat with a tabby tail and exclamation-mark eyebrows.

After that: The Dog with the Waggiest Tail. Several entries eyed the ring and stopped wagging entirely. There were groans for a bulldog with no tail to wag at all. Our basset, named Humphrey, met his best friend — a mongrel called Rusty — and both tails thrashed like metronomes just as the judge approached them. The family hopes ran high.

"All woggy dogs out — friendliest pets in now," called the microphone. Naturally, half the wagging dogs stayed on, to be joined by a torrent of pets including the frog and some cage-bound mice that only wanted to be alone. There followed the Most Unusual Pet. This brought in two dragonfly larvae from Epping Forest, two torpid Cornish newts in a tennis-ball box, the frog (again) and a jolly dog with three legs, called Peter.

In rapid succession, and not as easy to distinguish as you might have thought, came The Scruffiest Mongrel and The Best Kept Dog. A class for The Sleekest Cat was kept carefully apart.

After much conferring in a corner, the judges emerged to announce the prizes (illuminated certificates and packets of petfood). The Cuddliest Rabbit, Hamster or Guinea-pig went by acclamation to a white rabbit called Snowbell. Rusty and Humphrey duly came first and second in the Wagging Tail class, but on the way out of the ring Rusty was bitten on one paw by a jealous Labrador and had to be given first aid by the judge.

The Longest Whiskers prize went to an elephantine black pussy called Mr. Purr (thirteen-point-five-centimeters) and the Twitchiest Whiskers award to Jemima Gerbil with Joey Mouse second and Hazel B. Gerbil third.

The salamander was rated Most Unusual. The tabby-tailed white cat was deemed the most Unusually Marked, and a snub-nosed little girl managed to pull a face that was almost indistinguishable from the bulldog's, thus securing the Pet Most Like Its Owner prize.

Modesty obliges me to put the most outstanding award last: my daughter's Burmese Mi-Nyoo (which is the appropriate Burmese meaning "Little Miss Brown") romped away with the Sleekest Cat prize. The only trouble is, it turns out to be the one variety of cat food she refuses to eat. That's cat's all over.

## Englishmen cry for law and order

By Francis Renny  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

The killing by terrorist gunmen of the London publisher Ross McWhirter has given new impetus to the cause for which he stood: the defense of old-fashioned law and order. Not everyone can be unreservedly enthusiastic about the direction in which that impetus may be employed, but it can hardly be ignored.

## VIEW FROM LONDON

Ross McWhirter was an athlete, publisher and (with his twin brother Norris) joint editor of the celebrated "Guinness Book of World Records." He also held an Oxford degree in Law, and was devoting his time increasingly to a campaign on constitutional grounds against socialism, bureaucracy, nationalization and "extremism of both left and right."

He set up a non-union printing and publishing organization so that a paper could be circulated in the event of a Fleet Street strike; and he had begun some practical exercises in the use of court injunctions to break strikes. What seems to have brought down the wrath of the IRA upon him was his launching an appeal for a fund to pay rewards for information leading to the arrest of terror-bombers. He believed that they should be tried for treason and executed.

Prime Minister Harold Wilson was one of the first to express his horror at the killing — a doorstep assassination of a type all too familiar to Ulstermen but entirely new in London. However, the rush of right-wing conservatives to pay tribute to Mr. McWhirter has somewhat muted the regret which many Labour supporters must also feel. Ross McWhirter now stands sanctified as a martyr not just for individual liberty, but for the Right. Opposi-

tion leader Margaret Thatcher, who knew him on first-name terms and who shares his views on capital punishment, said the killing redoubled her determination to see that the law of the gun did not prevail. Another disciplinarian M.P. said England should weep for the death of law and order.

Five days after the murder, brother Norris McWhirter was launching a National Association for Freedom to promote a Freedom Charter drafted by Ross. One of its main points was "The right to live under the Queen's Peace." Norris protesting that in two of the United Kingdom's four capitals (London and Belfast) mothers and children could not go Christmas shopping or families celebrate an anniversary in a restaurant without fear of violence.

Norris McWhirter told a press conference that his brother's murder might make people realize they must devote greater resources to the maintenance of law and order. The police were "a magnificent thin blue line against anarchy." But they were under intolerable strain, 20,000 under strength, and poorly paid.

In a philosophical mood, the surviving brother said he felt Britain, in its sickness, might be ahead of other countries because she would find the way out of it earlier. Asked if he felt that he was now a target, Norris replied simply: "I've had a good life. I owe something to Ross's memory. After all, I am his twin."

Also supporting the association, Lord de L'Isle (a holder of the Victoria Cross and former Governor General of Australia) said it was to become a rallying point for the silent majority. It planned to take further legal actions against infringement of constitutional rights.

While paying all due tribute to the McWhirter brothers for their principles and their courage, commentators have already been remarking that the precedents for private campaigns against wrongdoing are not too impressive. From the now-defunct "I'm Backing Britain" campaign to various strike-breaking private armies, all seem to melt

away in a few years. Public apathy is not the sole reason, although the British seem to have an almost pathological aversion to standing up and being counted. They seem afraid of making fools of themselves, and people who are not afraid tend to get written off as "nut cases."

The police are usually dubious of the effects of offering rewards for information. Apart from the moral fact that people ought to give information without reward, they feel that money is no substitute for an intelligence network carefully built up over the years. Nor is it likely to make it any easier for the police to penetrate the clamorous and highly disciplined ranks of the IRA.

A positive drawback to rightist activism is that — just like the selfishness of the left — it tends to get infiltrated by extremists. However, highly motivated the organizers, any organization dedicated to "law and order" tends to attract — at the back of the hall — a small near-fascist fringe baying for the whip as well as the noose and for "sending foreigners back where they came from." Ordinary people know this, and it scares them away.

But some right-inclined people who regard the McWhirter case as a challenge to their own campaign reveals a weakness in their own Conservative party. Still more so (they hasten to add) in the Labour party and the legal, penal and sociological apparatus of the country. But if the Tories had been doing their job — including getting people to elect them to govern — it should not be necessary, they confess, to set up special organizations to fight socialism and thuggery.

One North London businessman said: "McWhirter's death has given us the shake-up we needed. It's time we showed some courage about the way things are going." But his wife added: "It's a pity this is taking a party and party turn. Some people will use that to write it off."

Francis Renny is a longtime British reporter.

## Portugal awakes from its long nightmare

By Helen Gibson  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon  
For the first time in months a quiet, almost holiday atmosphere has started to prevail in Lisbon.

Instead of mobs screaming for the overthrow of the government, the streets are filled with Christmas shoppers. Tatty Santa Clauses selling plastic reindeer have replaced the bearded soldiers who once marched with the crowds.

The moderate military men, who put down a leftist military revolt with astonishing speed and efficiency two weeks ago, have done everything in their power to promote this public serenity.

With quiet assurance, they have muzzled the most strident voices of the mass media and taken the heat out of politics at least for the moment. Even the rebels have not come out too badly. For instead of launching a major witchhunt, the government simply arrested about 120 ringleaders and sent the rest of the rebels home.

"It is calm at last, but it was about time. We couldn't have gone on the way we were for much longer," a local storeowner said.

The military leaders also seemed to want a rest and an end to the shrill crisis publicity that previously surrounded all governmental actions. Prime Minister Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo set the tone for the new attitude by sagaciously telling newsmen filming the arrivals for the Revolutionary Council meeting to "get lost." He said individual members of the government and military were no longer important and that President Francisco da Costa Gomes was the only man worth filming.

The new Army chief, Gen. Antonio Ramalho Eanes, carried this theme forward. When asked for an interview, he refused, saying it was high time the military quit acting like movie stars and start doing their jobs.

Another big change in the capital was the reduced number of newspapers — only three afternooners instead of the usual eight dailies — on the streets. Television and radio were different, too. Instead of long accounts of Hungarian farm communes, Lisbonites were receiving a steady diet of Western films and light music instead of revolutionary songs.

The government produced this change by shutting down Lisbon's radio and television studios and booming all programs from the conservative northern city of Oporto. The state-run but Communist-controlled newspapers also have been shut down pending the appointment of new administrators.

For the political parties, this quiet period also was proving to be a time for reflection and consolidation. The Communists, for one, have some heavy readjustments to make. On Nov. 25 they suffered their most stunning defeat since the left-wing Army captains overthrew the authoritarian right-wing Salazar-Caetano regime 19 months ago. The strugglehold the Communists had over the media has been broken. The infiltration and subversion they practiced in military units throughout the country has been halted and crushed.

The two other major parties, the Socialists and centrist Popular Democrats also have had to reorient themselves. For the Popular Democrats this has not been too hard a task. They have always wanted the Communists out of the coalition government, and the Communists' obvious responsibility in the uprising has given them plenty of new ammunition.

For the Socialists, the new situation has caused greater adjustment problems. The party, with its pronounced Marxist wing, cannot back the Popular Democrats in their calls to oust the Communists for fear of appearing too far to the right. On the other hand, they cannot ignore the Communists' role in the revolt, which was led by well-known pro-Communist officers.

## Europe



Shades of the Blitz: London restaurant takes no chances against IRA bombs

AP photo

## 'Francoism without Franco'

## Madrid police smash peaceful amnesty rally

By Richard Mowrer  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid  
Left-wing militancy and police aggressiveness are combining to build up tensions in a post-Franco Spain.

Some 4,000 prison inmates were set free following King Juan Carlos's partial amnesty of Nov. 25, among them 235 political prisoners. But now the flow is reversing itself with recently freed prisoners being put behind bars again.

The reason, explains security police headquarters, is "an intensive campaign of agitation conducted, on various pretexts, by clandestine organizations of a Communist nature."

One of the men freed by the royal amnesty and again in custody is Marcelino Camacho, Spanish working class hero and leader of the illegal labor organization, The Workers' Commissions.

Another prominent arrest is that of a worker priest, the Rev. Francisco Garcia Salve, who was taken away by police within minutes of getting off the train that had brought him to Madrid from prison in Zamora.

About a hundred arrests were made Sunday when crowds attempted to demonstrate peacefully outside Madrid's Carabanchel prison, calling for a total amnesty.

Riot police dispersed people with baton charges and tear gas. Persons queuing up at a bus stop in the predominantly workers' suburb near the prison were chased away by helmeted police carrying machine pistols at the ready.

A woman was told to get out of a public telephone booth. A three-man television camera crew of the American ABC network were handcuffed and held for four hours.

Overt left-wing militancy which has aroused the ire of the authorities took these forms:

• On his release from prison Mr. Camacho, a Marxist, gave a press conference in which he denounced the King's partial amnesty as being insufficient. At Madrid's university he addressed some 2,000 students.

• Fr. Garcia Salve was met at the railroad station by a jubilant crowd of several hundred supporters, who, according to the police, shouted Communist slogans. The priest climbed onto a bench to acknowledge the crowd's welcome and was arrested.

None of the "provocative" acts by prominent leftists or would-be demonstrators involved physical violence. But police reaction, it seemed to observers in the Carabanchel prison area, was unnecessarily brutal. It could antagonize West European democratic opinion against the "new" Spain of King Juan Carlos.

[Opposition sources said Sunday's police action could spark off unprecedented opposition to the government, Reuter reported.

[Left-wing opposition groups have called for general strikes throughout Spain this week to fight what they term "Francoism without Franco."

[The sources said Mr. Camacho's arrest could mobilize thousands of Madrid workers into responding to the general strike call.

[Meanwhile, Premier Arias Navarro was expected to announce his new government this week, possibly including some liberals, to set in motion and carry out reforms promised by the King in the new era without Franco.

[Among those tipped for Cabinet posts is the Count of Motrico, Jose Maria de Arellano, a former ambassador to the United States and France, who is known to have maintained a dialogue with the opposition during recent months.]

## Britain abandons internment in Northern Ireland

By Jonathan Hirsch  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Dublin  
Internment without trial in Northern Ireland ended as it began, with a highly controversial bang.

In the Irish Republic its abrupt end, despite continuing violence north of the border and in England, is seen as confirmation that a secret deal exists between the British Government and the Provisional IRA.

For months Roman Catholic politicians north and south have criticized the British Government's dealings with the IRA. They feel such "contacts" undermine their own position and so make any political settlement more difficult.

Currently the Dublin government is particularly sensitive about British moves following an upsurge in British newspaper claims that the Irish Republic offers aid and sanctuary to IRA terrorists.

Irish Government ministers heatedly claim that Southern measures to curb the IRA are far more effective than those in Northern Ireland. They say the failure to extradite

known IRA terrorists to face charges in Northern Ireland and Britain is due to international legal restrictions, not to pro-IRA sympathy.

Roman Catholics North and South who long sought the end of internment nonetheless criticize the means and timing of its end. To many it seemed a direct surrender to the IRA — and possibly an indication that Britain will eventually accept two further IRA demands for an amnesty for all IRA prisoners and a formal British agreement to phased withdrawal from Ireland.

Britain's defenders see British policy as fully honest and consistent. Ending internment at a stroke means Britain has finally ceased to operate a policy first introduced by hard-line Northern Irish Protestants — and a policy which failed.

Internment was introduced on Aug. 9, 1971, with a dawn swoop by British troops that netted 337 Roman Catholics suspected of being IRA terrorists. The objective was to curb sectarian violence but instead it led to far worse rioting and killing.

When releasing the last interned British administrator for Northern Ireland Merlyn Rees said ending internment was possible

because of the new success in arresting and convicting terrorists through normal legal means.

In the past year Northern Ireland's courts have dealt with 1,136 men and women charged with specific terrorist crimes. With the conviction rate nearing 90 percent, this is considered a far more effective and acceptable way to combat terrorism.

## Violence in Turkey

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Istanbul, Turkey  
Increasing student violence throughout Turkey is causing fears here of new military intervention or the imposition of martial law in the country's major provinces.

A sudden outbreak of street riots in Istanbul and other cities is a reminder to most Turks of the period of unrest at the beginning of the 1970s. That led military commanders in 1971 to oust Suleyman Demirel's rightist government for failing to restore order.

Many politicians and newspapers find present conditions similar to those that led to military intervention four years ago.



# defense

## Cruise missile puts the cat among the pigeons

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

A revolutionary American missile to be flight-tested in February is complicating strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) between the United States and the Soviet Union.

It also could cause fresh tensions within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which holds its semiannual ministerial-council meeting in Brussels this week.

The weapon is the cruise missile — a highly sophisticated version of the Germans' World War II V-1 or "buzz bomb."

This miniature pilotless airplane, which has its own jet engine and swept-back wings, is only about 14 feet long, weighs 2,000 pounds, and will have a range of up to 2,000 miles. It can carry a nuclear warhead with 200 kilotons of explosive power — the equivalent of 200,000 tons of conventional explosives.

Thanks to a new precision-guidance technology called terrain-contour matching, and to ceramic materials in its airframe which make detection by radar difficult, it can sweep in low across enemy territory, following the contour of the terrain, and home in on a target with a margin of error not exceeding 30 feet.

Not being an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), it can be launched from practically anywhere — from a ship at sea, a lorry with a ramp, an airplane like the B-52 bomber. Its warhead does not have to be nuclear. Its accuracy is so great that conventional warheads could be used with devastating effect against almost any desired target, chewing up runways, blasting missile emplacements, burrowing underground to explode later.

The cruise missile is being developed for the U.S. Air Force by Boeing and for the Navy by General Dynamics and Ling-Temco-Vought.

Richard Burt, assistant director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies here, and an expert in nonnuclear weapons strategy, thinks that one of the cruise missile's most effective theaters of operation could be the European. There a range of no more than 600 miles is required, and conventional warhead versions would give West Germany and other NATO allies the option of fighting back against a conventional Warsaw Pact attack without crossing the nuclear threshold.

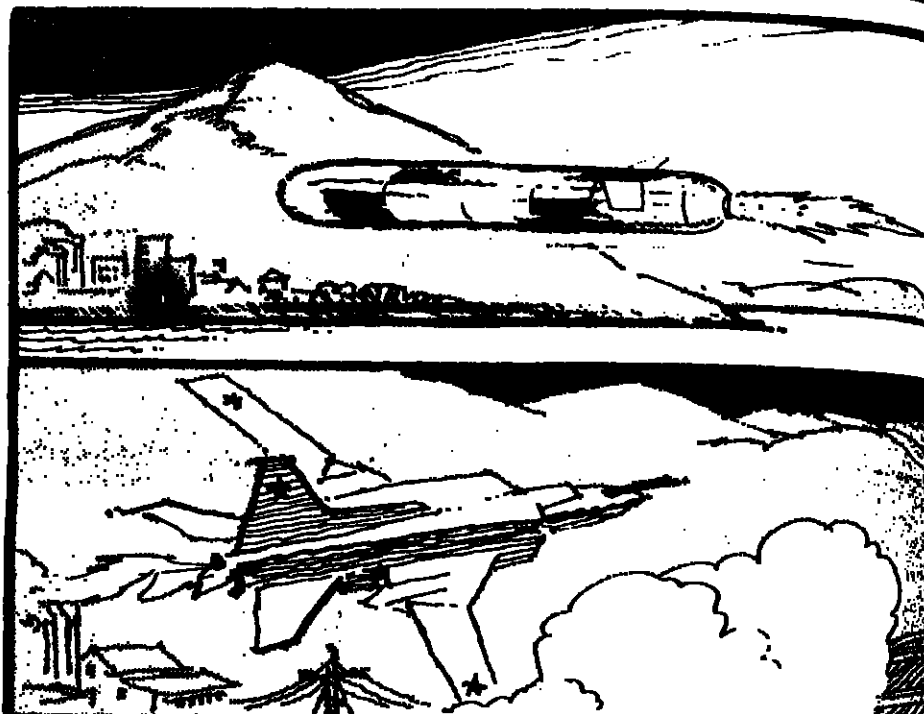
But if West Germany acquires nonnuclear cruise missiles on its own, there could be friction within NATO and a fear that the Germans may be preparing to go their own way.

For those negotiating arms control, the cruise missile presents enormous complications. The Soviet Union insists it be included in the SALT talks. The Americans are seeking a separate agreement which would trade off the cruise missile against the new Soviet supersonic bomber, code-named "Backfire," by NATO.

There is no question that in its nuclear version, the cruise missile is a strategic weapon of immense power. It cannot be ignored. But to include it in the SALT II talks would require a degree of trust between Washington and Moscow that neither side has yet shown.

As defense experts here point out, SALT talks have progressed thus far because both sides have been talking about weapons that could be seen and counted. Each knew how many intercontinental ballistic missiles the other had. Each had a pretty good idea how many bombers, or missile-carrying submarines, the other could deploy. Neither side could cheat the other for long.

A cruise missile, however, could be carried in the back of a lorry, and no one would be the



Cruise missile (top) and Backfire bomber: SALT bargaining counters

wisely. It costs under a million dollars, compared with the \$10 million a Minuteman 3 ICBM costs.

If the cruise missile is included in SALT talks, the question of confidence cannot be avoided. MIRVs (multiple independently-targeted reentry vehicles) already have complicated the ICBM counting picture. And, speaking of confidence, some defense experts here recall that the Soviet Union has not even carried out the relatively simple confidence-building provisions of the Helsinki declaration — notification of certain Warsaw Pact maneuvers to the other side.

Should then the United States, for the sake of reaching a firm SALT II agreement with the Soviet Union (2,400 missiles on each side), promise to give up the cruise missile? Should it give up the nuclear version and call it a

tactical battlefield weapon? Should it agree that the cruise technology is not to be shared with its NATO allies, especially with West Germany?

"I want to see the issues studied more carefully before we sign away some interesting options," says Mr. Burt. Some day the Soviets, too, will have the missile, although they are considered generally to be behind the United States in miniaturization and precision-guidance technology. More ominously, several other industrialized countries, if they wished to, could do the same.

The United States abandoned earlier versions such as the Matador and the Shark in the late 1950s because they were too large, too slow, too vulnerable. Ballistic missiles became

## NATO brass tackling problem of arms standardization

Duplication may cost 15-nation alliance a whopping \$10 billion a year

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Standardization of armaments will be one of the major topics of the first ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which Donald Rumsfeld will be attending in his new capacity as U.S. Secretary of Defense.

France, which participates in the political but not the military structure of NATO, has apparently agreed to join an ad hoc group to discuss standardization.

It is a delicate question for the United States, which wants standardization but must assure its European allies they will get a fair share of whatever increase in international order results from this process. Arms procurement must be a "two-way street," British Defense Minister Roy Mason has emphasized.

NATO meetings are being held in Brussels this week with the Eurogroup conferring on Monday, Defense Ministers on Tuesday and Wednesday, and foreign ministers on Thursday and Friday.

Eurogroup bring together the defense ministers of ten European members of NATO with the exception of France, Portugal, and Iceland. It started out as a European effort to show the United States what the allies on this side of the Atlantic were doing in their own defense. But it has gradually turned into a forum for discussing defense problems peculiar to Europe.

France has never participated in the group. What the French want, and what some of the other major Europeans seem moving toward, is an independent body bringing together the major arm-producing nations of Europe — Britain, France, West Germany, and so forth.

There have been instances of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in production of aircraft, tanks and other military material, but never in a systematic way.

What this could cost France in terms of lost orders was brought home graphically last summer when four European allies decided to re-equip their air forces with an American fighter plane, General Dynamics F-16, instead of the French Mirage.

For the 15-nation Atlantic Alliance as a whole, including the United States, it has been estimated the cost of duplication and lack of standardization comes to \$10 billion a year. At a time when defense budgets in all countries are under pressure because of inflation and severe economic difficulties, this is a waste that many feel should no longer be tolerated.

Legislators who would be in full agreement with this proposition in the abstract frequently fight tooth and nail to retain duplicative industries in their constituencies. These are the problems that defense ministers who are also politicians — men like Mr. Rumsfeld, Mr. Mason, or West Germany's Georg Leber — are discussing this week.

Their French colleague is not present for President Giscard d'Estaing has repeatedly pledged France will not return to NATO's integrated military structure.

But standardization is a practical problem. For all their protestations about remaining faithful to the Gaullist policy of independence, the French have been edging closer to their NATO allies on the question, and this week could see some useful decisions emerge from NATO's political council, in which French Foreign Minister Jean Sauvageaux does participate.

# Middle East

## Rabin stirs hornets nest

By Francis Omer  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tel Aviv, Israel  
Israel Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin faces a wave of criticism from some voices on the home front on two counts:

1. His uncompromising stand against allowing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to participate in Middle East peace negotiations.
2. His concessions to Israeli nationalist extremists who last week set up an illegal settlement at Sebastia, in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

The storm of criticism now raging around the premier could have major political repercussions in the next few weeks.

Some of the rank-and-file members of the premier's Labor Party have raised doubts about his capacity to continue to lead the country. Others, however, see Mr. Rabin's latest actions as proof of his new toughness, in the light of the UN Security Council's decision to invite the PLO to attend council debates on the Middle East.

On the issue of the Sebastia settlement, the premier is being accused of a complete about-face. Sebastia is revered by orthodox Jews as the site of the biblical residence of the kings of Israel. It lies close to the important West Bank city of Nablus, but is outside the zone of occupied territory that Israel would claim for security reasons under an eventual peace settlement.

Last week some 1,000 Israeli ultra-nationalists installed themselves at Sebastia in defiance of an official ban. Their action touched off a riot by Arab students in Nablus Monday, after which the Israeli authorities clamped a curfew on the city.

Two days after the settlers arrived at Sebastia, one of Mr. Rabin's close aides told me: "Maybe it will take a little while, because we want to avoid the use of force. But Mr. Rabin is absolutely determined the people of Sebastia must go back."

At the weekly Cabinet meeting on Sunday the premier's policy was fully endorsed. The Cabinet even rejected a motion by Minister of Welfare Ze'evulun Hammer to forbid the use of force when evicting the settlers.

But after a night of negotiations — conducted by Defense Minister Shimon Peres and approved in detail by Mr. Rabin — the settlers were allowed to take up lodgings in a military camp near Sebastia and to remain there until

the Cabinet reviews its settlement policy in two to three months' time.

The settlers hailed this as a victory and their leader Rabbi Levinger said: "We have achieved virtually all we wanted." Pointedly he recalled that the Jewish settlement of Kiriat Arba, near Hebron, south of Jerusalem, had begun in exactly the same way. Today Kiriat Arba numbers several hundred people.

When the Sebastia "compromise" became known, there were excited scenes in the Labor Party group in the Knesset (Parliament). Leading figures of the party were concerned because the premier had not consulted them or even informed them of his policy switch.

Knesset member Yossi Sarid asked: "Does this mean that from now on anyone can settle wherever his fancy takes him? The government has made a mockery of its own principles."

## Arafat: 'U.S. will recognize PLO'

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon  
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat has reaffirmed his support of a two-state solution in which Israel could coexist with a Palestinian state. But he shied away from a detailed question about the future of United States relations with the PLO.

Yet in an exclusive written interview with The Christian Science Monitor Mr. Arafat said, "It is inevitable that the United States will change its present policy of nonrecognition" of the PLO and its refusal to deal with it toward a peace settlement in the Middle East.

The scheduled Jan. 12 UN Security Council debate on the Middle East with PLO participation, Mr. Arafat said, "is in complete accordance with the UN General Assembly resolution calling for participation of the PLO in all international conferences or meetings held on the Middle East."

The resolution scheduling the Jan. 12 debate along with the decision to admit PLO spokesmen, said Mr. Arafat, justify "the struggle of the Palestinians." It is a new recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland. We are steadily gaining in international recognition and support.

"Therefore," Mr. Arafat continued, "It is impossible even for the dearest friends of Israel to support it in its aggression, as it is beginning to be totally isolated on the international scene. The United States cannot share this isolation."

"The United States cannot continue to oppose the world community. Some 87 percent of the people of the world now support the PLO and the Palestinian people. This support comes from broad masses of the world's people, whose governments in some cases voted against us or abstained from

supporting the recent basic resolutions in favor of the Palestinians. We know this, even though some governments may vote against or abstain again in the debate starting Jan. 12."

Mr. Arafat did not answer a question written for him about the future of U.S.-PLO relations, in the light of such recent developments as the U.S. role in recent Security Council debates or the Nov. 12 "Saunders document" issued by the U.S. State Department acknowledging Palestine as the central issue in the Mideast conflict.

Mr. Arafat recalled that the Palestine National Council (the quasi-parliament of the PLO) decision taken in Cairo in June, 1974, still stands. That, he said, "showed the readiness of our people to accept establishment of an independent national authority on any part of Palestinian soil which may be liberated."

"We consider this," he added, "as a step toward establishing a democratic state on all Palestinian territory on which Jews, Muslims, and Christians live, or in which the Jews live with their Palestinian brothers, the Muslims and Christians, with the same rights and duties."

Mr. Arafat went on: "The victories achieved by the Palestinian revolution on the international level, crowned by the condemnation of Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination — a just resolution of the UN General Assembly — has put into doubt the colonialist-expansionist policy of Zionism."

"What the Zionists wanted to do in their massive campaign which has resulted in hundreds of innocent victims including women and children is to strike down the growing Palestinian victories and to terrorize our people who are rising up against Israel in the occupied territories."

## Electronic fence team

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Nine Americans are climbing around the barren rocks of Sinai between the Gidi and Mitla passes this week preparing the way for a team of 200 other Americans who will establish an "electronic fence" between the forces of Israel and Egypt.

Their purpose is to determine the exact locations for the three U.S. and one Egyptian electronic listening stations which the United States will help establish.

The group expects to visit similar Israeli and UNEF (United Nations Emergency Force) installations. UNEF patrols the area and will be responsible for the security of the main American team.

The nine-man group, headed by Nicholas G. W. Thorne — a tough foreign service officer and 20-year Marine veteran — reports back to Washington by Dec. 14. By that time, the White House is expected to have appointed a director for the overall project and preparations will begin to send the first U.S. team into the Sinai by Feb. 22.

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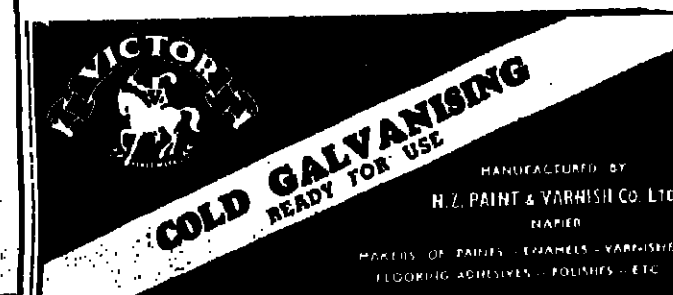
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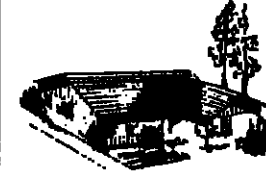
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# NEW ZEALAND



# United States

## New look at a long-standing industrial poison

By Judith Frutig  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago  
A struggle now shaping up on whether to ban some highly toxic industrial chemicals may affect the lives and eating habits of people around the world, scientists say.

A decisive battle over a group of chemicals called PCB appears to be mounting in the Midwest, particularly in the Lake Michigan region where potential PCB hazards to fish, wildlife, and man are undergoing serious scrutiny.

A similar controversy caused the ban of the pesticide DDT in the United States several years ago.

PCBs are a stable, fire resistant, and electrically insulating chemicals—important to the safe operation of some types of electrical transformers and capacitors; the only known substitutes are highly flammable.

They are also used in lubricants, waterproofing chemicals, carbonless duplicating paper, and ink. Other applications include plasticizers, fluorescent light starters, sealants, adhesives, and hand soaps. The chemicals get into the environment by vaporization, leaks, and spills.

Like DDT, PCBs linger in the environment before breaking down and are poisonous.

A five-region council of Midwest states passed a resolution in September urging state

agencies to support a ban on all PCB uses except those determined necessary by public hearings.

One month later in Wisconsin, where the DDT battle began, state officials held public hearings on the need for a statewide PCB ban. No decision has yet been announced.

In Michigan a bill is pending in the state Legislature that would ban all PCB use except in electrical transformers and capacitors. The state Natural Resources Commission has announced a total PCB ban, calling for action by state officials if the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) moves too slowly. The state Water Resources Commission has adopted a milder resolution supporting a ban on all uses except where "socially, economically, and environmentally acceptable substitutes are unavailable."

The Illinois Pollution Control Board has scheduled public information hearings next year on a proposed PCB ban.

The most recent action came here in Chicago when the PCB controversy was aired at a three-day meeting sponsored by the EPA. "The Infant," said Dr. John L. Buckley, general chairman of the conference and a consultant in the EPA Office of Research and Development in Washington, D.C., "was to lay on the table what we know today... so we can

go forward together for action programs."

No formal action was taken, but the conference illustrated a growing concern over the effects of PCBs on the environment.

When it ended, chemical officials and conservationists alike said they expect the conference to have a major effect on the long-delayed federal Toxic Substances Control Act now pending in Congress.

The tone of the conference was set by EPA Administrator Russell E. Train, who told participants that PCBs "are polluting our environment to a far greater degree and at higher levels than we have presently thought."

But the sharpest words came from Nathaniel P. Reed, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish and Wildlife and Parks. "I am thoroughly disgusted by the gnashing of teeth, walling, and rubbing of hands," he said. "To the agencies which have the enforcement responsibilities — a word on behalf of the bewildered but concerned American people: 'Get on with it.'"

Concern over PCBs is by no means limited to the Midwest — or to the U.S. for that matter. In the St. Lawrence River, Canadian scientists have monitored dangerously high concentrations of PCBs in eels. As a result, the government is considering the cancellation of commercial eel fishing licenses there, said John Graham of the Canadian Fisheries and Marine Services.

PCBs — a chemical family technically known as polychlorinated biphenyls — are similar to DDT in chemical construction. But PCBs linger longer, are toxic at lower levels, and are far more resistant to breakdown by natural forces. As a result, scientists say that in some areas the accumulation of PCBs in the environment has either exceeded — or soon will exceed — that of DDT.

Evidence is growing that high quantities of PCBs have been building up in fish populations ranging from the game fish of Lake Michigan and Lake Ontario to striped bass in New York's Hudson River. Since 1972, the state of Michigan has warned fishermen of consumers not to eat more than one salmon meal per week.

Experiments have also suggested that PCBs interfere with the process of photosynthesis necessary to plant life.

The sole U.S. manufacturer is the Monsanto Company of St. Louis, which has made the compound for some 45 years. This year, Monsanto sold 40 million pounds of the chemical, a voluntary cut from previous annual sales of 85 million pounds.

From page 1

### ★Waiving rules

Diplomats of other members think there is at least a clue here: that Mr. Wilson does not want Welsh and Scottish nationalist delegates tearing up the United Kingdom on the floor at Strasbourg; and that in general he does not want a bunch of smart-aleck internationalists playing at statesmen behind his back.

To these three EC complications may be added a fourth, involving the continental members of NATO. They fear that, with yet another round of defense cuts being made in London, Britain will not be capable of maintaining its minimum commitments to European defense. The last round proposed savage reductions in anti-submarine capabilities, always a special responsibility of Britain with its view of the Atlantic and North Sea, and these were only restored after considerable NATO pressure. It is feared that this time the same cuts may be pushed through despite the opposition.

Perhaps the most ironic thing about Britain's rows with her partners is that they arise from its taking much the same nationalist attitude as France under the late President de Gaulle. The president took the view that he had not been elected by his people to give away their interests to others, but to use every possible machinery (including that of the Common Market) to make life better for the French. Says Mr. Callaghan: "There are a number of issues where I believe, in political matters, the nine can work together. Basically, we shall always all of us continue to start from the angle: is it in our own country's interest?"

From page 1

### ★Concorde

Similar contour maps for Kennedy airport are not yet completed, but Congressional staff estimates that Concorde would saturate residential areas of his Long Island constituency 5 to 25 miles from the airport with a noise level "approaching that of a jackhammer."

Air pollutants also disturb federal officials. "We are concerned about air emissions as well as noise emissions," said EPA Assistant Administrator Roger Stralow.

Carbon-monoxide levels in both New York and Washington already exceed national air quality standards, Mr. Train said, and more than six daily flights threaten "potential long-term health and climatic effects."

The Concorde, in which the British and French have invested \$2.1 billion, would have the flight time from the Eastern United States to London and Paris, from seven hours to three and one-half. It cruises at 15,000 miles an hour, or about twice the speed of sound.

First commercial service is scheduled to begin Jan. 25 between London and the Middle Eastern gulf state of Bahrain.

# United States

## Foreign policy: what Ford has accomplished so far

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

With the Ford party in the Pacific  
President Ford's extensive foreign travels are probably over until (or if) he returns to the White House after the 1976 election. So it is a good moment to make this assessment of his foreign policy since he took over the presidency from Richard Nixon 16 months ago.

Mr. Ford probably has achieved the minimum goal he set out for himself — that of indicating and reaffirming the U.S. intention to maintain a continuity of its ties with the global powers in particular, and with other nations with which it has a relationship.

But this is by no means to say that such U.S. ties are as strong as they were in the early days of Richard Nixon — nor that the President has been able to do much to improve the perception of the United States abroad.

The Chinese leaders, for one, wonder whether Mr. Ford is suspicious enough of the Soviet Union. They had no such doubts about Mr. Nixon. In fact, a U.S. official now discloses that the Chinese leaders are asking: Does Ford have "fire in his belly" when it comes to the Soviet Union?

Furthermore, the President has encountered great difficulty in persuading nations abroad that the United States now has the intent and the will to carry out its global commitments.

Citing the remnants of Watergate and the divisions between the White House and Congress, a senior U.S. official now has said this domestic turbulence has definitely weakened U.S. credibility abroad. These factors, he says, tend to make it difficult to show the authority that lies behind American policy.

This official was speaking only a few hours after leaving the Peking summit. Obviously his remarks applied there as well as elsewhere.

He did not mention the Vietnam war — and the American public's current revulsion against the U.S. getting involved in any activity that might draw it into another troop commitment abroad.

This public attitude, too, is well known abroad and cuts deeply into the credibility of the stated intentions of the U.S. administration to meet responsibilities entered into with other nations.

It now is known that the Ford administration feels that the American balance-of-power policy has been shaken by U.S. domestic upheavals.

Other great powers — the Ford administration now is understood to believe — feel that the U.S. to call itself a world leader and still have these internal troubles is, of itself, an anomaly.

These great powers (according to current high-level U.S. thinking) are quite aware of the post-Watergate credibility gap between high government officials and the people, and

this, too, makes them wonder whether the President is in a position to make commitments that the American people, through Congress, will implement.

"We're in an uncertain situation," the senior official said, "largely because of what we are doing to ourselves."

The impact back home of the President's missions abroad has, curiously, made few discernible eddies in U.S. public opinion. His decisive action in the Mayaguez incident did shore up public confidence in the chief executive — but he accomplished this without leaving the country.

Former President Nixon achieved his tremendous electoral victory in 1972 largely on the strength of his opening of doors in both Peking and Moscow — as well as with the perhaps premature promise that he gave out just before the election that peace was at hand.

But if President Ford is to win support because of his foreign-policy efforts, it will not likely be because he is discerned as an imaginative and outstanding leader in foreign affairs.

However, his efforts abroad may have been successful enough to cause many people to conclude that he is doing an adequate job in foreign affairs — and this, of itself, might become a plus for him with the electorate which will probably have to choose between Mr. Ford and someone completely devoid of any involvement in shaping foreign policy.

On the other hand, many Americans may fault him — and vote against him — for doing so much traveling without achieving what they would see it too much in the way of results.

The President's final visits on this trip, to Indonesia and the Philippines, were aimed largely at building bridges with nations that could conceivably help serve as a deterrent to communist aggression in their part of the Pacific.

The meetings seemed to go well, with Indonesia being assured of more U.S. aid, and with the Philippines and the U.S. apparently making progress toward an amicable settlement of the U.S. base question. The United States now appears willing to give up its sovereignty over these bases in return for assurances that it can retain autonomy on them.

Perhaps the President's personal diplomacy built goodwill on these stops — and in Peking, too. But the question remains: has Mr. Ford really done much to strengthen U.S. ties abroad since he took office?

Perhaps — say those traveling with him — the President should be given some good marks for trying. Perhaps his personal assurance that the U.S. is not retreating from global responsibilities has, at least, convinced other nations that here is a President who is committed to fulfilling such responsibilities and who will do all in his power to carry them out.



Korean girl on the receiving end of U.S. giving

## More Americans asked to give

By Lucia Moust  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

American generosity has not kept pace with the needs of charitable institutions, according to a new study which also suggests a remedy.

The two-year study by the Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs recommends stepped-up tax deduction incentives to middle- and lower-income givers in order to increase the \$25 billion Americans gave to charities last year.

Specifically, the Filer Commission (headed by John D. Filer chairman of Aetna Life and Casualty) would like to see a doubling of the current deductions allowed for givers with

incomes of \$15,000 or below.

Contending that philanthropy should not be a "fancy hobby horse for the rich," Mr. Filer said that the changes in tax law would spell a loss to the Treasury of \$9.1 billion but add \$11.7 billion to charitable coffers — "going after all to the public interest." Under current laws, the federal government loses \$5.8 billion for a \$7 billion gain for charitable institutions.

"We almost drowned in paper," concludes Mr. Filer.

The report issued at the beginning of a major philanthropic conference here was delivered to the House Ways and Means Committee which is due to study the whole question of philanthropy and taxes in a short time.

From page 1

## ★Angola: Soviet guns turn tide

black African side, and the West risking an unpopular tacit alliance with the factions backed by South Africa.

A critical change occurred Nov. 25 when Nigeria suddenly recognized the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as the rightful government. The Nigerian announcement cited South African involvement as the reason for ending its previously evenhanded approach.

On Nov. 28 Ugandan President Idi Amin in his capacity as chairman of the Organization of African Unity said he had sent messages to the leaders of the other two Liberation movements, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). The messages asked these two uneasy allies about South African involvement and said that the OAU majority might have to reassess its stand.

FNLA leader Holden Roberto replied Dec. 1 that there were no South African mercenaries in his army. But, simultaneously, two FNLA officials in Rome declared that the South Africans had been brought in by UNITA. The UNITA response, if any, is not yet known. Ethiopia was next to move. It announced a

reassessment of its approach without specifically recognizing the MPLA. But on Dec. 5 Tanzania went the whole way and recognized the MPLA.

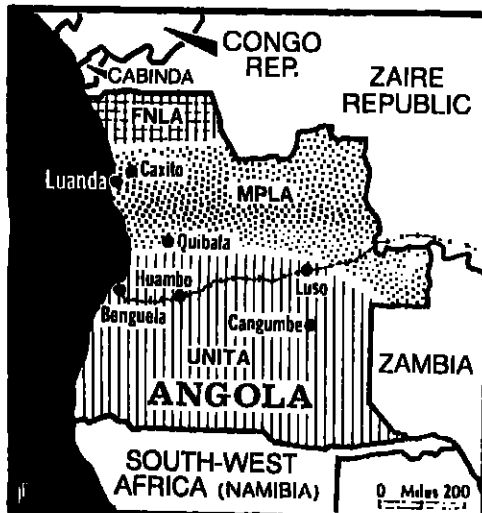
Diplomats here do not expect the Angola issue to be brought to the UN in the foreseeable future. Least of all to the Security Council where the Chinese, Soviet, and U.S. vetoes could be called into play.

But the slide away from the FNLA-UNITA position in black Africa is considered highly significant here. It confronts the U.S. and the West with a difficult dilemma:

Do they let the Soviet Union gain a strategic foothold on the southwestern corner of the continent (Angola) potentially like Moscow's established foothold in northeast Africa (Somalia)? Or do they heed South Africa's quiet pleas for help in Angola and risk alienating majority black African opinion for perhaps years to come?

The military picture, too, has changed. The combined FNLA-UNITA assault from the north and south on the slice of territory held by the MPLA has been halted and in places turned well back.

The main reason for this appears to be the massive input of Soviet weapons, plus more



than 3,000 Cuban troops, on the MPLA side.

Three fronts now emerge: in the northwest the MPLA has regained the initiative and retaken Caxito. In the center-west the MPLA has retaken Quiluba after pushing the UNITA motorized column back some 100 miles.

In the center-east the battle is zigzagging back and forth over the vital Benguela railroad.

From page 1

## ★U.S. nudges Israel on PLO

But it seems clear, as one Western diplomat here put it, that "the United States is trying to turn the corner on the Palestinian question" — i.e., is beginning to look for a way to bridge the vast gulf between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

Washington's official position remains that the U.S. will not recognize the PLO unless it accepts the fact of Israel's existence and the two basic Middle East Security Council resolutions — 242 passed in 1967 and 338 passed in 1973.

However, U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's reported private request to the Rabin government to participate in next month's Security Council meeting is viewed as part of the attempt to "turn the corner."

The counsel meeting was scheduled as the political price extracted Nov. 30 by the Syrians in exchange for their agreement to extend the mandate for the UN peace force in the Golan Heights. The council majority also announced that the PLO would attend the January session.

Consequently, Israel decided to boycott the meeting and has apparently rebuffed Dr. Kissinger's plea for a change of heart. The Kissinger request is also expected here to have

fed the Israelis' fears of an erosion of U.S. backing. These concerns were first aroused by the American failure to veto the original decision to bring the PLO into a January session.

Both the Israelis and the Egyptians are said here to view the American failure to veto as a "stab in the back." The Egyptian Government reportedly sees the evolving American position on the PLO as undermining its own policies, in particular the recent Sinai agreement with Israel.

Some diplomatic sources here also suggest that Mr. Rabin may react to the PLO onslaught and American pressure by reaching out in a different direction, toward King Hussein of Jordan. This, it is said, could prove a popular move and pave the way for new Israeli elections — a promised prerequisite before any Israeli-Jordanian agreement could be signed.

Dans Adams Schmidt reports from Washington: For Secretary of State Kissinger movement on the Palestinian issue appears to be the necessary prerequisite for continued diplomatic movement in the Middle East.

The only practical way to get it — in the

views of many diplomats — is to persuade the Israelis and the PLO to talk to each other.

Dr. Kissinger will probably go to Moscow before Christmas first to save the strategic arms limitation talks, secondly to keep the negotiations going in the Middle East and avoid war. The Soviet Union, which has just had a visit from PLO chief Yasser Arafat, is seen by Middle East diplomats as the only outside force that could influence the PLO to accept Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 — as the Russians, the Egyptians, the Jordanians and the Syrians have — and thereby recognize Israel's right to exist and so open the way to talks with the Israelis. While the PLO is mainly influenced by its own internal dynamics, some diplomats think the prospect of more overt Soviet backing could bring the PLO around.

Others argue that the greatest influence on the PLO toward moderation would be an American move to begin talking to the PLO.

In the words of one diplomat, the difficulty for both sides at present is that the excessive heat of the argument makes it unpalatable for all. "Indeed," one diplomat persists, "the heat risks burning the stew."

## Forced-busing casualty: Boston's children who refuse to go to school

By Kristen Kelech  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Blond, brown-eyed Sally, a 16-year-old high school student from South Boston, spends most of her time these days flipping through the record stacks at Jordan Marsh Department Store or window shopping along Tremont Street, across from the Boston Common.

She is one of nearly 6,000 students the Boston School Department is looking for.

Sally, like the others, is enrolled in the school system, but she has not attended class all year.

She says she is not in public school because she is against forced busing, ordered by federal court as a desegregation measure. Her parents would like to enroll her in one of the new private schools set up by anti-busing parents in several of the city's neighborhoods, but they cannot afford the \$500-a-year tuition.

Sally isn't Roman Catholic, so she insists that parochial schools are not for her. Although she says she will not enter Madison Park High School, where she was assigned last summer, Sally admits that the life of a boycott leader can get pretty dull.

"But I made such a big deal about boycotting to my friends

that I feel like I have to see this through," she adds. A citywide school desegregation plan, ordered last spring by U.S. District Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr., and implemented this fall, has resulted in thousands of students being bused daily into schools in black and white neighborhoods with virtually no racial strain.

But for Sally and many of her neighbors, anti-busing sentiment is as strong today as it was a year ago, when racial fighting at South Boston High School made national news headlines.

Evidence of the school's resistance to desegregation can be demonstrated by a recent request to Judge Garrity by the NAACP that the school be closed permanently. The NAACP's lawyers said the school's atmosphere was too hostile to black students.

Although observers close to the judge say they do not expect him to close the school, "Southie" residents have not been convinced. Many say the community will resist violently if Judge Garrity orders the school closed. His ruling is expected soon.

The atmosphere in South Boston High School has been described as prison-like. Students file by metal detectors each morning in a weapon check. Ninety state policemen line the hallways and stairwells.

The school department reports there have been 105 incidents inside the school so far this year involving 103 white students and 105 blacks.

Black student attendance is at a record low. During the first week of school an average of 283 black students attended classes daily at South Boston High School. Now the average attendance is about 140. Projected black enrollment is 430.

South Boston High School holds fond memories for hundreds of "Southie" residents. Many will admit they are against change in South Boston, and desegregation means change.

"They are afraid the black people are going to come in here and take over the school and then everything else in the community," says one South Boston mother. "But if they would just stay in the community and send their kids to school quietly the black people could never come in here in great enough numbers to take anything over."

Many South Bostonians say that the hard-core activists are small in number. Yet these activists have intimidated some parents who are willing to send their children to school.

One South Boston woman, who asked not be identified, said her front yard became the site of several anti-busing demonstrations after it became known that she was against boycotting and the alternative private schools.



# United States

## Criminals repay victims

By Clayton Jones  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Victims of crime in the U.S. can expect new aid from an untapped resource — criminals. For today's thief, burglar, or defrauder, new prison programs and many court judges are retooling the punishment to fit the crime. And hundreds of victims are surprised to find they now receive cash for stolen goods from the very person who pilfered or destroyed their property.

At least 10 U.S. cities and six states have begun campaigns since 1972 to give criminals the opportunity to undo the wrong done to their victims — through direct cash payments or by volunteer work for the victim, a Monitor survey finds.

The aim is to restore the victim while aiding the offender. Previous victim compensation programs, now run and paid for by 34 states, have attempted to aid only victims of violent crimes — even without capture of the criminal.

President Ford is urging Congress to pay victims of violent crimes from a fund composed of fines paid by convicted federal offenders.

Minnesota's victim restitution program, often copied by other states, has had 87 convicts work 600 hours and pay over \$14,000 to victims of their property crimes since 1972.

Contracts are written in tense face-to-face meetings between victims and offenders as a condition for probation from prison. But once confronted with the damages of his deed, the ex-offender then is willing to work to meet his debt, say Minnesota officials.

"He [the criminal] had never faced up to the fact that his history of burglaries had caused other people problems," says a Minneapolis crime victim. She recovered \$24 for a broken lock and shattered window pane after meeting in prison with the burglar of her apartment.

"Now, two years after we talked about his offense, he is married, has a college degree, and works as an accountant," she said.

Georgia's one-year attempt at repayment for property crimes has yielded \$23,000 for

victims, while another \$75,000 has been contracted for by ex-offenders.

Officials estimate another \$200,000 was paid this year by court orders from judges who coupled restitution with other punishment. "Many victims of crime are relatively poor and often uninsured," says Georgia correction official Bill Read. "Restitution pays those victims and makes the offender accountable to his actions."

In Iowa a 1974 law mandates restitution for all crimes. But officials say the expense of collecting and disbursing payments for victims costs as much or even more than what victims eventually receive.

Benefits, however, lie in the personal contacts, say Iowa prison officials. Eyeball-to-eyeball meetings often end up assuaging the cry of victims for harsh sentences while impressing on criminals the impact of their crimes.

But eye-for-an-eye restitution is often made to an impersonal corporation or neighborhood grocery store. And when victims already have claimed losses with an insurance company, the offender often pays an insurance agent. Officials add that many victims want no contact with the offender to avoid reminders of the crime.

Other problems with victim restitution include:

- The obligation to pay is limited by the offender's ability to pay. Many criminals are already destitute and forcing payment may drive them to steal again.

- Legal questions are raised on whether an offender can be denied liberty for not repaying a victim.

- Some judges worry that offenders will be able to buy their way out of prison by offering restitution.

"There must be other punishment, too," says Boston Municipal Judge James Dolan. "We might as well eliminate the criminal process and go into small claims court if we carry this too far." Judge Dolan's court started a victim-restitution program in November using community mediation boards. All Massachusetts District Court judges were asked this fall to consider restitution more often, say court spokesmen.

## Returning Americans describe postwar life in South Vietnam

By Robert M. Press  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago  
• Since the end of the war in South Vietnam, Chin and thousands like him have returned to their long-abandoned farm lands and villages, in spite of the dangers of unexploded mines buried in many of the fields.

• For Hai, a former noncommissioned officer with the South Vietnamese Army who once chauffeured American officials around Saigon, take-over by the Communists last spring left him peddling a bicycle taxi for a living.

These and other glimpses of life today in South Vietnam come from Thomas R. Hoskins Jr., a pacifist American doctor, who continued working there for six months after the Communists gained control.

Dr. Hoskins and his wife, Julia Forsythe, who voluntarily returned to the United States in October, were here recently on part of a speaking tour for their former employers in South Vietnam, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).

Dr. Hoskins is quick to point out that the new government and its people "have a lot of problems," such as unemployment, inflation, an uncritical press, and the logistics of massive resettlement.

Within a few days of the take-over many buses resumed services and ran packed with families returning to villages and other cities. "Finally the war was over and they could go back," says Dr. Hoskins.

Some returning families were given temporary rations and other support from the new government until their crops were ready. "Others never want to leave the city, no matter what," he says. Some of them, he predicts, will be forced to return to their

villages later due to unemployment.

Dr. Hoskins was working at a clinic in Da Nang when the change of government occurred on March 28. That evening, while walking home, he noticed "people were back out in the streets. All the Thieu flags were gone." Then a jeep went past bearing a flag of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) and "it suddenly dawned on me the change had occurred."

A few days later several PRG officials invited Dr. Hoskins to continue his work. He was allowed to sit in on one of the "reeducation" classes the Communists gave to the clinic staff. Such indoctrination has been given in varying lengths and degrees of intensity to people of all walks of life.

The classes he attended consisted of three afternoon lectures by Communist officials on: (1) the history of foreign intervention in Vietnam; (2) how U.S. dollars have propped up what was termed a "false economy in Vietnam"; and (3) the need for Vietnam to develop, especially industrially.

The sessions in no way resembled what he would call "brainwashing," says Dr. Hoskins.

Ms. Forsythe was in Saigon when the Communists took over there April 30.

Within hours of the take-over Saigon streets filled up with "people grabbing each other, crying, some just looking," Ms. Forsythe recalls. One of her slides shows a South Vietnamese tank abandoned in a downtown street with helmets and uniforms strewn all around it — left by fleeing soldiers.

"There had been so much talk about a blood bath," she says. "But when some of the liberation soldiers heard this for the first time they thought it was very funny."

The government wants U.S. help, and needs it, especially in locating and deactivating mines, says Dr. Hoskins.

## Alcoholism plagues U.S. forces in Europe

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Rome  
The Stars and Stripes, the unofficial newspaper of the U.S. forces in Europe, began a major series last week which exposes in candor and detail the problem of overdrinking and alcoholism in the U.S. military.

This is the first time this publication, traditionally controlled closely by the military, has been so frank about the problem. But over the last year it has carried an increasing number of angry letters to the editor on the subject.

Among the many facts brought out in the Dec. 2-4 series:

- Military personnel and their dependents in Europe consume 2½ times more alcohol per person than does the average U.S. resident.

- A study in the U.S. shows that over 10 percent of military veterans are alcoholics, double the average U.S. rate.

- The military sells hard liquor, wine, and beer at from one-half to one-third the stateside price.

- While in theory the amount of sales is rationed, the system is easily circumvented. There is a thriving black market, for example, in West Germany, in which some German civilians make their entire living reselling

liquor for three times the price paid by the military.

Last year military customs officers handled 2,000 black market cases. Although there are no hard figures, some observers estimate 20 percent of military liquor ends up on the black market. Military outlets in Europe last year sold \$36.5 million worth of liquor.

The Army, Navy, and Air Force are pouring millions of dollars into rehabilitation centers to try to cure the increasing number of alcoholics, many of whom are very young. One young man interviewed said he came to the military with \$800 to buy his mother an expensive present but drank up all the money.

A specialist in education and drugs with the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean estimates that well over half of all fleet problems are alcohol related.

Lt. Col. Edward K. Jeffer, chief of drug abuse treatment at Army command headquarters in Heidelberg, told Stars and Stripes that alcohol is many more times harmful than all other drugs put together.

The series points out that military practice contradicts efforts to counter drug abuse. Besides supplying liquor cheaply and abundantly, military personnel often promote drinking parties. In fact clubs, recreation activities, libraries, craft and hobby shops, and sports activities are 50 percent dependent on income from liquor sales.

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## Halifax harbor: ice-free, deep, and booming again

By David R. Francis  
Business and financial editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Halifax, Nova Scotia  
"Halifax is coming alive," exclaimed Mayor Edmund Morris.

He was right. This port town and its sister city across Bedford Basin, Dartmouth, have been growing rapidly. Halifax has not seen such good times financially since World War II when it was the major gathering harbor for convoys of freighters taking cargoes to Britain.

A decade or so ago, Halifax was a rather dreary place. But today Mayor Morris, a native Halifaxian, can boast of many developments:

- Two new bank towers completed (Bank of

Montreal and Royal Bank of Canada); two more scheduled to be built soon (Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Toronto-Dominion Bank).

- A new container terminal that is the busiest in Canada and probably ranks third, fourth or fifth on the eastern seaboard of North America.

- A \$40 million high-rise complex known as Scotia Square with an underground mall and more than 100 stores and office towers. Another large shopping center scheduled for north Halifax.

- Numerous new apartment buildings, which Mayor Morris says have the highest occupancy rates in Canada.

- Restoration and renovation of a waterfront area that includes the Privateers' Warehouse. This warehouse, built about 1800, used to bulge with booty from American ships waylaid by Britain's legalized pirates.

What perhaps pleases Halifaxians as much as anything is that their children can now find work in the city or nearby. For decades, many young men left Nova Scotia to take jobs in New England or Ontario. Some of these are now returning.

The population of Nova Scotia increased for the past three years to about 815,000. The Halifax-Dartmouth population has grown

some 40 percent during the last 16 years to about 255,000.

Instead of Halifax suffering a "talent drain," noted Mayor Morris, it now is importing skilled workers from other parts of Canada. Further, the city has one of the lowest unemployment rates in the nation — around 3 percent.

"Employment here is vibrant and good," Mayor Morris told the Monitor.

However, Halifax will not be able to rest on its laurels. It has fresh competition from a new container port at St. John, New Brunswick. That port has just won a competition for the container business of five Japanese shipping lines. That will take away about 15 percent of the business of the Halifax container terminal.

Further, the Halifax Shipyards Division of Hawker Siddeley Canada, Ltd., needs new orders. It will have completed the last drilling platform on its order book by the summer of 1977.

One other hope — that oil would be found in large quantities offshore — has not been realized so far. Mobil Oil Canada, Ltd., located about 1.5 trillion cubic feet of natural gas off the coast of Nova Scotia. But drilling operations have slowed, hurting this port somewhat.

Provincial Premier Gerald A. Regan estimates that 4 trillion cubic feet of gas reserves are needed to justify a pipeline to major

markets in Montreal or Boston. A new find of gas on Prince Edward Island this fall lifted hopes slightly of achieving this target. Without a major new gas find, a smaller pipeline could take the Sable Island gas to Halifax for local consumption, the Premier speculates.

Halifax and Dartmouth have attracted some new industry. Volvo has an assembly plant here, for instance.

But the city's major attraction is its deep, ice-free harbor considered one of the finest in the world. Operated by the National Harbors Board, the port offers 32 berths and a frontage of 19,000 feet.

"There is not a hearth or home in this area that does not have some identification with admiralty," remarked the Mayor.

Besides commercial shipping, Halifax is headquarters for the Maritime Command of the Royal Canadian Navy and Canada's major naval port. The command's primary role is submarine detection.

Besides the 20 warships that operate out of the harbor, long-range Argus aircraft fly out of a nearby base in the Annapolis Valley on submarine surveillance patrols. These will be replaced starting in 1979. Canada last week announced plans to buy 18 long-range Orion patrol planes and spare parts from Lockheed Aircraft Corporation for \$950 million.

## Idle German oil ships may take water to the Middle East

By Thaddeus C. Kopinski  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Bremen, Germany  
Hans-Ulrich Klein has an idea to put to use the half-dozen supertankers lying idle in the backwaters of Geltingen Bay near Flensburg — and their sister ships in other world ports made superfluous by the changing face of the oil trade.

Mr. Klein's proposal is simply to convert the oil tankers into water carriers, with on-board purifying facilities, to supply the arid countries of the Middle East.

The tankers would need only to sail into the estuaries of major rivers, take on water and purify it chemically as they travel to their destinations, says Mr. Klein, an engineer with Preussag AG, the giant industrial conglomerate.

Preussag maintains that it can deliver water in this way 30 percent cheaper than it would cost to process sea water in any

known desalination process, and negotiations with several countries, including Iran and Saudi Arabia, are under way.

Mr. Klein's idea is not as whimsical as it may seem at first glance, and at least three major shipping lines with redundant tankers on their hands — Oetker, Oldendorff, and Esberger — have expressed some interest in it.

Meanwhile, those new supertankers moored in Geltingen Bay await an uncertain future.

Built within the last two years at a cost of more than 600 million marks (a quarter of a million U.S. dollars), they have been caught in the squeeze between a worldwide decline in oil shipments and plummeting carrier rates.

According to Heinz Spaeder, general manager of the Hamburg Esberger Lines, maintenance, docking fees and keeping a skeleton crew on board, eats up 210,000 marks (\$84,000) a month for the brand-new Wilhelmine Esberger, a 240,000-ton tanker which had to be mothballed as soon as it left the shipyard. The owners are stuck with an additional \$20,000 mark (\$200,000) monthly payment in financing costs.

The abortive tanker boom in West Germany started in the fall of 1972, when the federal government provided a 15 percent subsidy for the construction of supertankers.

As a result, last year the shipping industry completed a record 2.1 million tons, or 6.4 percent of the world total, exceeded only by Japan and Sweden.

But at the same time as the tankers are being launched, one after another, the tonnage now available or still under construction far exceeds present demand.

That poses a serious problem for the West German shipping industry. Two-thirds of the country's shipyard capacity this

year is engaged in tankers, with most of the capital investments committed to the supertankers.

Howaldtswerke Deutsche Werft (HDW), one of the country's big three in shipbuilding, is just about to complete its \$85 million super-berth in Kiel. When finished early next year it will be able to build 700,000-ton giants, and the company has already taken orders for four 470,000-ton units.

The company said that even if orders for the giant carriers are not forthcoming, it can use the docks to build several smaller tonnage ships simultaneously.

At Bremen's AG Weser shipyard, the contract for one of two huge supertankers commissioned by the Hapag-Lloyd AG lines has been renegotiated to substitute six smaller general cargo carriers for a ship which probably would have ended up riding idly beside its sisters in Geltingen Bay.

The same trend to smaller boats is apparent at Bremer Vulkan, the last of the big three shipyards. The yard reported a Norwegian order for a 318,000-ton tanker has just been converted into two medium-size bulk carriers.

All three shipyards concur that the trend has swung back to smaller, more specialized, sophisticated ships. The reopening of the Suez Canal, which cannot take anything larger than a 40,000 tonner is one factor. And with the amount of oil transport declining and transport rates cut in half, the prospects for the supertankers are dim.

But the industry points out that the structure of its present order book is much healthier than that of its main rivals, notably Japan.

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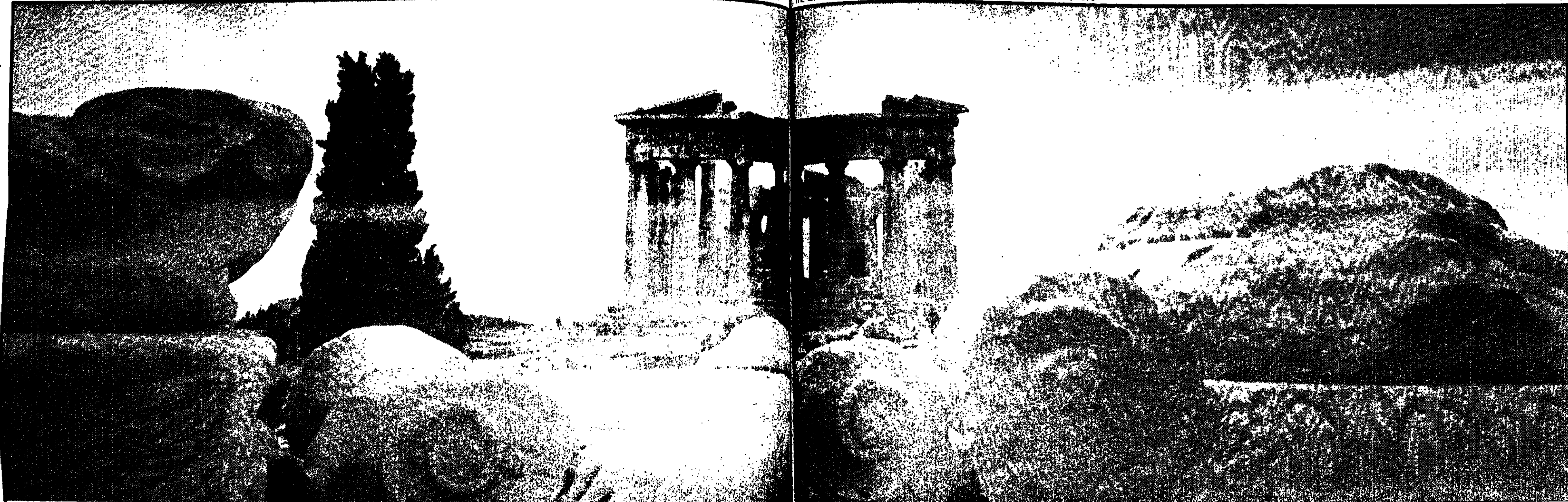
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The Parthenon atop the Acropolis at Athens — one of the best-preserved ancient buildings in the world — now threatened by air pollution

## Parthenon in Peril

Can nylon wrapper or plastic dome save it from destructive fumes?

By Peter S. Mollas  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Athens  
The Acropolis at Athens would seem an almost impregnable monument to the flow of human history. But today, a combination of traffic and industrial fumes is threatening to do what 2,500 years could not: turn these historic chunks of marble into a heap of dusty rubble.

Greece is debating how to save its ancient marble temples and statuary there and elsewhere from irreparable damage by air pollution.

Experts say that over the last few decades the unique sculptured monuments have been hurt more by pollution than they were by exposure to the weather during the previous four centuries.

And the worst pollutants are fumes from airplanes and automobiles.

First to be rescued will be the Parthenon and other monuments of the Acropolis, the "glorious rock" that crowns Athens and is visited by millions of tourists a year. And second on the list of priorities is the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, whose fluted columns are among the best preserved of the treasures of ancient Greece.

### Recommendations studied

The Ministry of Science and Culture has earmarked \$1.6 million for restoration of the Acropolis over a five-year period. But the salvage plan still has to be worked out.

A five-man team of Greek specialists, headed by Professor of Archaeology Nicholas Platon, is studying a mass of recommendations.

It also will soon have a report containing short-term and long-term proposals drafted by four antiquity experts from UNESCO and other international organizations.

The UNESCO experts urged that urgent protective measures be taken by covering the Acropolis's sculptured monuments with plastic or nylon. But Greek specialists fear the coverings would increase the accumulation of moisture on the marble and speed up the deterioration.

In fact, the problems are so serious that it is likely to be some time before any steps are adopted.

Professor Platon says that action steps must be undertaken with extreme haste.

### Statues removed

He denied press reports that some of the statues on the Acropolis were as good as made. Such reports are considered only as a last resort — as "a desperate measure," he said.

Another expert said that the British argument that the famous statues had better stay in the British Museum was not to be returned to Greece.

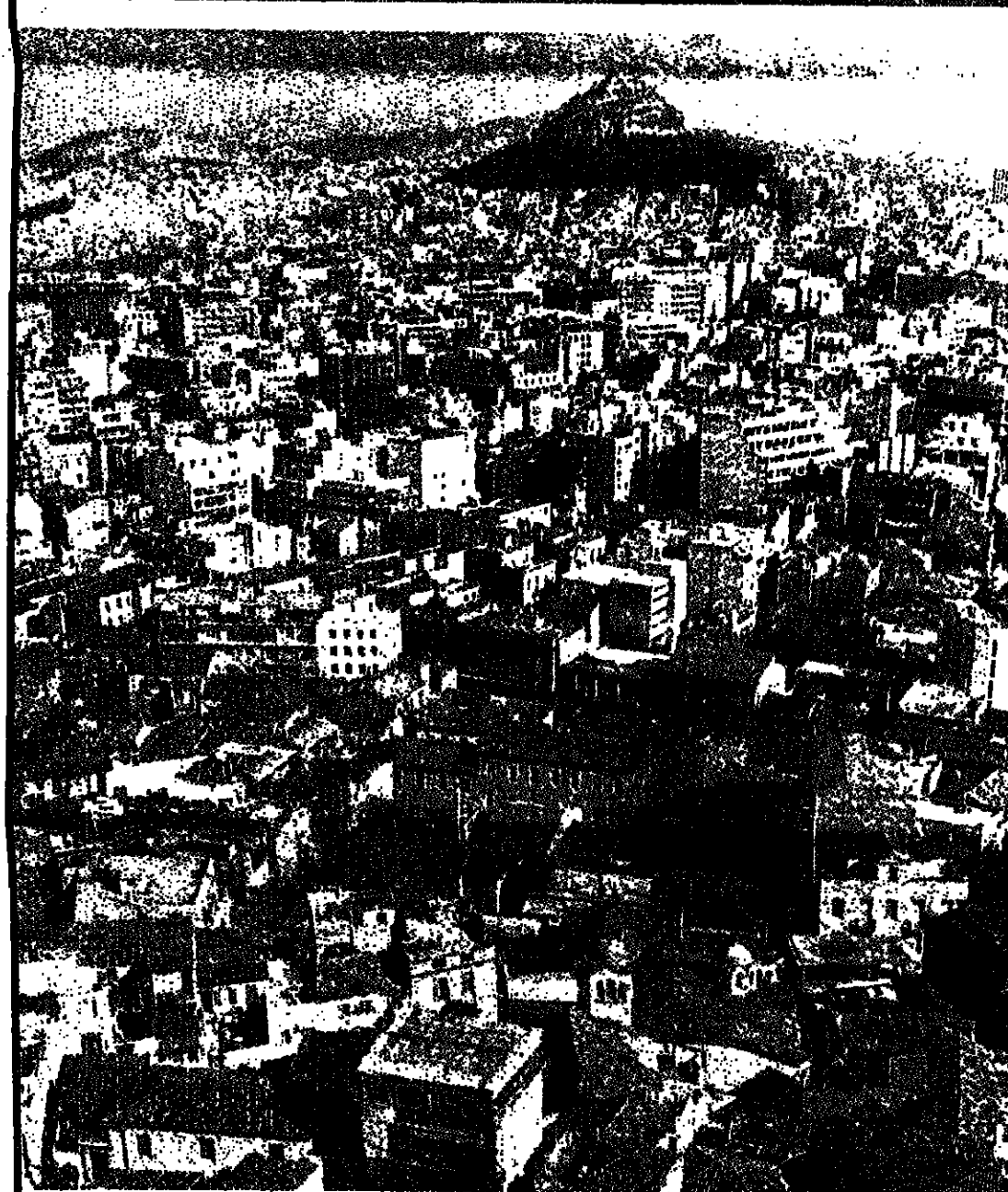
Between 1890 and 1930, a number of priceless sculptures from the Acropolis were sent to the British Museum, where they still are kept. Greece has tried several times, without success, to have the statues returned.

Marble is a durable stone, but it loses much of its resistance to the elements when its man-made polished surface erodes as the result of physical, chemical, and biological reactions. Rain, wind, and temperature changes attack marble, each in its own way — causing cracks on the polished surface that grow with time, especially as water freezes and expands.

The penetrating water, whether from rain or humidity, also sets in motion damaging chemical reactions. As air pollution has increased, sulfur and carbon hydrides have settled on the marble, forming crusts. When the crusts come into contact with the water, sulfuric acid is formed. The sulfuric acid turns marble into a dusty gypsum.

Also worrying the experts are the steel bars that were placed inside pillars and statues of the Acropolis between 1890 and 1930 for extra support. There are no accurate records of the exact placement of these bars, and, over the years, oxidation has set in — resulting in expansion and therefore cracking. (The ancient Greeks also used iron bars for support, but covered them with lead to guard against oxidation.)

Now a team is trying to locate all the bars through cobalt radiation so they can be replaced with another metal, like titanium. Other teams are conducting seismological and wind velocity studies through models. And a team of architects is making large-scale impressions of all the Acropolis monuments for detailed studies.



Athens: source of fumes that turn eroded marble to dust



Basilica of the Temple of Athena Nike — endangered monument











# education

## Would you trust your child with stocks and shares?

By Clayton Jones  
Survey editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
American students from grade school to graduate school are "economic illiterates" and need more business basics to help the nation ward off future recessions and inflation, educators and business leaders say.

With new urgency, many schools opened this fall offering expanded curricula of consumer, business, and economic studies, while

### MONITOR SURVEY

students responded by signing up in record numbers, a Monitor survey finds.

Educators are seeking active collaboration from the business community, which stands to benefit from the renewed mixing of curriculum with the marketplace. More business people are being asked to lecture on college campuses. Factories have become instant classrooms.

A high school class in Clarkston, Georgia, for instance, took its first plunge into American business last week by buying 30 shares of stock in Airborne Freight, a firm listed on the New York Stock Exchange. As a lesson in free enterprise, the \$300 venture will reap more than profits for the 63 students.

All 350 high schools in Georgia will get a new economics course sponsored by the Georgia Department of Education and the Georgia Chamber of Commerce, it was announced Oct. 22.

In most parts of the nation, both business groups and organized labor are subsidizing efforts to beef up teaching of economic and business concepts at elementary and high school levels.

They are aware of an antibusiness mood on college campuses, of distrust of business ethics, and a distorted notion that company profits average 45 cents on the dollar when 5 cents is closer to the mark.

"There is a growing awareness on the part of the business community that their credibility has gone down the drain, and they are excited about getting in more economics education so that students will understand how business operates," says Prof. John Ashley of the economics department at California State University, Hayward.

The main purpose, he explains, is to ensure that future high school graduates have a clearer grasp of economic issues and are able to understand the consequences of government officials choosing one policy over another.

"There is a fear by business groups that students will grow up into economic idiots," says Professor Ashley, who adds such education also may help balance the biases of educators, which often run "a little to the left."

Too few teachers understand economics complexities, says Charles E. Walker, vice-

chairman of the Joint Council on Economic Education and a former Deputy Secretary of the Treasury. Still, economic training for students has been recently mandated in at least seven states while similar requirements have tripled for U.S. elementary teachers since 1967.

The council sponsors 122 centers at colleges and universities in 48 states to promote economics education. The 25-year-old independent organization of business and labor added 20 new centers last year and even more this year as the economic crunch led to cries for reducing the economic ignorance and consumer unreadiness of tomorrow's citizens.

"Americans go into the voting booth ignorant of what makes the economy tick," says Mr. Walker.

But as students read today's headlines of joblessness and scarce money, they have begun to scramble for profitmaking education. "We could fill our graduate school three times over; our undergraduate at least double," says Dean Harold M. Williams of the Graduate School of Management at UCLA.

Future Business Leaders, a 116,000-member high school organization, recorded a 16 percent increase in 1975.

Two smaller groups, Distributive Education Clubs of America with 6,000 chapters and Junior Achievement with 190,000 members, saw a 13 percent and 8 percent increase, respectively. And business schools reported a 24 percent jump in applications for this fall's enrollment.

"Students are becoming aware that they are unaware of economics and business," says Edward D. Miller, head of Future Business Leaders.

A few large U.S. companies also are building bridges to college campuses while most high school counselors try to involve community businessmen in career guidance.

"What's happening now is to bring more business people into schools," says H. Justin Davidson, dean of the Graduate School of Business and Administration at Cornell University. "We are seeing a swing back from business fundamentals to closer ties between schools and the business community."

General Electric, working through three



Eight-year-old businessman sets up lemonade stand

U.S. universities, brings in hundreds of high school counselors and administrators to let them work at the elbows of GE workers for two to three days. With the goal of learning more about how business works, they question employees on what's important to them so that the high school students can be told what's needed to cope with a job.

Since 1973, several dozen senior life insurance executives have spent month-long visits on college campuses to discuss corporate social responsibility with students. A Gallup Poll in May found only 20 percent of U.S. college students believe that the moral and ethical standards of business executives are high. Sponsored by the Institute of Life Insurance, the residence executives act as both missionary and guinea pig to students concerned about business.

Realizing how little their customers know about money matters, Montgomery Ward and Company in 1973 began offering courses in consumer education.

In schools, consumer education has mushroomed the fastest. Such classes as facts and fallacies on purchasing food or how to buy insurance have rapidly proliferated.

Educators, however, say they are caught in the middle of two opposing trends or pressure groups: One urges increasing stress on consumer management, or teaching practical money-handling course, and the other urges theoretical economic principles.

"People in general don't understand the relationship between economic affairs and their lives," explains Dr. William Brooks, curriculum director of New Jersey schools. Educators face the challenge of trying to explain this relationship while at the same time seeking to "balance" their teaching between "consumerism" and "capitalism."

Contributing to this survey: John Dille in Atlanta, Judith Frutig in Chicago, Frederic Moritz in San Francisco, George Moneyhun in New York, and David Winder in Los Angeles.

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# education

## Chinese schoolchildren work as factory hands

By Ross H. Munro  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
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Peking  
"Sideline" production by China's secondary school students is becoming, if Chairman Mao Tse-tung will excuse the expression, "big business."

At No. 35 Middle School in Peking the students spend one month a year in workshops manufacturing oil-filter cores for tractors and relay switches for vehicle warning lights. Here, and reportedly at many other schools, production has reached economically sig-

nificant levels and is generating substantial profits.

So far the students' work here has produced a net profit of more than \$250,000, which is deposited in the bank. What this means is that China's thousands of secondary schools represent an until-now overlooked source of capital in the country's drive for economic development.

Actually the \$250,000 is an inadequate reflection of the profitability of No. 35's sideline production. Yu Hsin-fan, vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee, a position comparable to an assistant principal in an American high school, said a large proportion of the profit is

plowed back into the workshops by buying more machinery and equipment.

This year the students are producing 110,000 relay switches and 20,000 oil-filter cores, more than double their production only two years ago.

Sideline production began on a big scale after the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, when Chairman Mao warned that students were being trained as an elite that knew nothing about manual labor or the process of production. Miss Yu indicated that this still is the philosophy behind the school workshops.

"Our very aim in running these workshops is to combine education with production," she said.

This is shorthand in China for the Communist Party's determination that students acquire working-class consciousness even if they end up as white-shirted cadres.

Student and staff morale at the school seems high. Both seem relaxed and self-confident. Many of the students' parents apparently are in cadres, such as those of Hung



'Relaxed and self-confident' Chinese students knit their way through recess

Lu, a friendly and self-assured girl whose future seems bright.

Her mother is a journalist with the New China News Agency. Her father is a party official. She also wants to be a journalist and, said a school official, "the broadcasting

station authority is considering taking her."

Sixty percent of the students at No. 35 study English. The others are studying Russian, apparently with some reluctance.

"But we educate the students to grasp the impor-

stance of learning Russian," Miss Yu said, whether the Soviet Union be friend or foe.

Besides, she added, "It's not their business. It's for the revolution."

This philosophy carries over into the school policy on examinations, promotions, and the treatment of exceptionally bright students. Those who do exceptionally well get commendations — and extra work.

With the average class size about 50 students, instruction seems to be based on traditional methods, like lectures, demonstrations, question-and-answer sessions, and reciting by the entire class. Only two or three students in each grade do so poorly that they have to repeat a year, and hardly any drop out, Miss Yu said.

When they finish their five-year programs at No. 35, the majority of the graduates are sent to communes in the Peking municipal district, 15 miles from the school.

There are indications that this is part of a national trend away from sending such graduates individually or in small groups to communes far from their homes. Morale is almost certain to be higher if they go with their friends to areas when they do not feel isolated.

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# 'Who Is Making Your Decisions?'

Edward C. Williams of Indianapolis, Indiana, lectures in The Mother Church

"Fidelity to divine commands, to divine authority, leads us to right decisions — decisions that survive the wear and tear of experience," Edward C. Williams, C.S.B., of Indianapolis, Indiana, told an audience in Boston on Sunday afternoon.

He described how to avoid "being forced into hasty and perhaps unwise decision-making by the onrush of circumstances or the surge of emotions." A member of The Christian Science Board of Lectureship, Mr. Williams spoke in The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts.

Mr. Williams gave up a business career in order to devote his full time to the healing ministry of the Church of Christ, Scientist. He is also a teacher of Christian Science.

The title of his lecture was "Who Is Making Your Decisions?" He was introduced by Mrs. Daisette McKelvie of Boston. An abridged text of his lecture follows:

## Making right decisions

I remember watching a dog one day as he tried to cross a heavily-traveled street. Cars were passing from both directions and he couldn't find an opening. Finally there was a gap in the traffic and he started across. Suddenly a car bore down upon him. Quickly he turned and scampered back to the curb. By instinct, or reflex, he reversed his decision. Or you might even say the rapidly approaching car made the decision for him.

How many times have you and I stood at a mental crossroad, and then been pushed into making a hasty decision? Every day we make hundreds of decisions. We're called on to accept or reject thoughts which stream through our consciousness like running water. And above and beyond commonplace decisions there are larger ones. So really, what could be more important than making right decisions? Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, states in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, "Your decisions will master you, whichever direction they take" (p. 392). But is there a special way to go about making right decisions? To avoid being forced into hasty and perhaps unwise decision-making by the onrush of circumstances or the surge of emotions?

Fidelity to divine commands, to divine authority, leads us to right decisions — decisions that survive the wear and tear of experience.

This afternoon let's consider together this kind of decision-making. It comes as the result of hard and careful thought, but thought that is open to the divine facts in every situation.

This is the way Christ Jesus reasoned, from divine facts in obedience to God. In other words, God was the starting point. Take his decision for example when, as the Bible says, he was three times tempted by the devil. Today I think most of us would give a different name to the aggressive suggestions which tried to draw Jesus away from God; we'd call them temptations of materialism, personal ambition, appetite and so on. Jesus rejected each temptation and held to the vision gaped through long days and nights of prayer — the vision of God as Father, as divine Life, Love, Spirit, a vision so essential to the fulfillment of his mission. His fidelity to this perception of God was the basis of his decision to reject ungodlike suggestions.

We might say Jesus was a man of principle. And so he was. But we can go farther. Christian Scientists often use the word "Principle" spelled with a capital P, as a synonym for God. Jesus, then, was a man of divine Principle, a man of God.

This divine Principle is the basis of all true law and integrity. It's unvarying; it never

makes a mistake or does an injustice; it's completely dependable. But we never think of it as just a cold, impersonal abstraction. It has a special connotation — divine Love. This divine Principle, Love, indicates the universal creator who gives us identity, supports us by law, and then comforts and guides us. Jesus understood it so well that he brought healing, comfort, and relief to his fellowman.

And by this same fidelity to the divine Principle, Love, Jesus overcame evil of every kind. How else could he have made so firm a decision when the whole world's evil seemed to zero in upon him, like a hypnotic force? His love of good gave him spiritual and moral strength from the infinite reservoir of God's presence. As a man of God, of divine Principle, he gained power and authority from the universal good that is God.

Last winter I was invited to sit for a few hours on the bench with a judge in municipal court. I watched a long line of public offenders come forward one by one to face judgment. A young man arrested for burglary; another for carrying concealed weapons; another who wouldn't support his wife. Their common problem was that they were not principled men, not men of right decision. Motivated by dishonesty and selfishness instead of fidelity to good, they lost their freedom and were subject to conviction and sentence.

In contrast, Jesus and all humanity were blessed by the decision he made when he was tempted. His rejection of evil suggestions changed the whole course of human history. There would have been no resurrection, no ascension, no Christianity, if Jesus hadn't made his spiritually enlightened decision. As the Bible says, he "brought life and immortality to light" (II Tim. 1:10).

It's important in speaking of Christ Jesus to realize that Christ is more than a name. It signifies the message from God that Jesus brought to men — the message of man's true relationship to God as an expression of divine Principle. It's only through the Christ that God, divine Principle, can be understood.

Because he lived the Christ, Jesus was the world's most effective healer and spiritual teacher. By his words and deeds he defined the nature of God. He taught his disciples that God, as well as being the divine Principle, Love, is also indestructible, divine Life.

In prayer to God for his disciples just before his crucifixion, when every effort would be made to destroy his life, Jesus said, "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent" (John 17:3). Jesus knew that living isn't a condition of matter. It's a condition of knowing something — of knowing and understanding God and man's relation to God. By his resurrection he showed that a physical body doesn't contain our life and can't take it away — because God is Life, our Life.

## The Christ message

This spiritual reality of God as the one Life and of man as the spiritual idea of God, is central to the Christ message which the man, Jesus, exemplified. His decision to go even to the cross to prove his point was logically based on his understanding of God as indestructible Life and of man as Life's expression. And he proved his point by rising from the tomb.

The immediate effect of Jesus' proof was to inspire his disciples with a more spiritual outlook. For example, Peter, weighed down with remorse after his denial of Jesus, followed by the crucifixion, seemed to feel there was nothing more to do but return to his fishnets. But imagine his transformation when Jesus calmly reappeared and talked with him, turning him gently away from his wrong decision to go fishing with the penetrating question, "Lovest thou me more than these?" (John 21:15.)

Suddenly Peter found that his love for Jesus, which he assumed was self-evident, had to be re-examined. And it must have looked pretty small as Jesus persisted with the question "Lovest thou me?" Perhaps Peter felt the contrast between his easy reply "Thou knowest that I love thee" and the profound responsibility to prove what he said. But Jesus' repeated command, "Feed my sheep," struck home, and Peter was lifted to a higher decision. He left his nets to become Peter the Apostle, the spiritual leader proclaiming the Christ. Peter, the man of divine Principle, the man of conviction.

The same regenerating influence of the Christ was illustrated again in the experience of Saul who was a mortal enemy of Jesus' followers. He reversed his whole position to take the name of Paul and devote his life to the Christian teaching. What made him do this? Through the Christ he caught a glimpse of God as divine Principle, Love, and it brought a decision.

Now you'll remember I said earlier that an understanding of God as divine Principle provides a basis for right decisions. The life of Jesus illustrated his fidelity to divine Principle and brought to men the message of the Christ. Through the Christ his followers caught a new vision of God and were transformed by its influence. They made the right decision.

Every one of us can feel the transforming influence of the Christ, the true idea of God. And this understanding of our divine Principle will lead us to right decisions, as it did Peter and Saul.

Centuries before Jesus the prophet Joel said, "Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision: for the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision" (Joel 3:14). Wouldn't the "day of the Lord" be a time of spiritual enlightenment? A time when an enlightened sense of God as the divine Principle, Love, would reveal man's God-given qualities of integrity, fidelity, and love of good as a basis for right decisions? The time is today and every day. Right decisions come naturally as the result of a correct understanding of God and of man as made by God.

What are some of the decisions you and I need to make?

Are there dark areas in our past for which we feel guilty? If you've decided that God is condemning you, it's a mistaken decision. God, divine Love, doesn't condemn us; He corrects and uplifts us when we really decide to seek His guidance.

Have you lost someone? Then decide now to rise out of the belief that man can ever be lost from God, or that God, divine Life, could be lost to man. A lady once said to me, "My husband was such a good man — why did this have to happen to him?" As we talked, I brought out that so far as her husband was good he was immortal. That his goodness was the substance of his real being. She began to see that his qualities of good weren't gone at all. They were present because God, his eternal Principle and Life, is ever present. She decided this was a much more intelligent way to think of her husband and she found a sense of peace.

How about disease? It's often believed that disease is a merciless force over which we have no power of decision. But as thinking individuals, shouldn't the decision really belong to you and me? We are individual consciousness. In the long run, we shape our experience by the quality of thought we entertain. And we shape the quality of our thought by the basis or starting point we take for it. If people think their way into physical disorders through indulgence, tension, or hate, couldn't they think their way out through spiritual enlightenment? How important, then, that we listen to the Christ and take God, divine Principle, as the starting point of

our thought. Only then can we make firm decisions for what is good and true!

## Healing of blindness

I could give many examples but let me give one in some detail. This concerns a man I know who found that spiritual enlightenment enabled him to make a decision for health. His wife had asked me to call on him in a veterans' hospital. He was a veteran of the First World War, blind, and under medical treatment for diabetes and heart trouble. He'd been in and out of the hospital repeatedly and was a chronic complainer. The hospital staff were fed up with him, and he with them.

Our conversation soon brought out he wasn't interested in Christian Science, and this whole business of my calling on him had apparently been his wife's idea. I could understand how deeply she must have wanted him to find help, but I didn't feel I should say much more to him until he wanted that help himself. So after a few moments of talking with him I rose to leave.

I did tell him, however, that any time he was ready to go home and give up his reliance on drugs and study Christian Science he could be healed. How could a blind man study Christian Science? Well, I explained that he could obtain a record player and a few of the recordings of Science and Health and listen to them each day. Then I went on my way.

A couple of weeks later his wife called to say that her husband had made a decision. He had left the hospital, obtained a record player and some of the recordings of Science and Health, and was listening to them every day. In fact he was beginning to see a little.

He couldn't have listened to much of Science and Health without beginning to learn something of God as divine Principle. Right in the Preface there's this statement: "The divine Principle of healing is proved in the personal experience of any sincere seeker of Truth" (Science and Health, p. x).

So I wasn't surprised a few weeks later to hear further good news. His wife called to say that her husband was now reading the Bible and Science and Health each day. He had abandoned his special diabetic diet and was eating anything he wanted with no discomfort. The heart attacks were less frequent.

The man himself called a couple of weeks later. In a happy voice he said he was now reading much more every day. He was taking long walks, and could see well enough to recognize his friends across the street. The heart attacks had stopped entirely.

Now I'm sure that this transformation wasn't as easy as it sounds. We don't know all of the mental wrestlings this man must have gone through during the weeks as he came face to face with the tremendous challenge Science and Health presented, the challenge to deny the power of disease and to claim his freedom as the child of God.

But this is my point. Here was a man who was healed by hearing and reading the message of the Science of Christ. It revealed God to him as divine Life and Love, the Principle of his whole being; it caused a mental and spiritual adjustment which changed his thought from self-centered to God-centered and brought him to the happy acceptance of God's all-governing love. It made him willing to spiritualize his thinking.

Under the continuing guidance of divine Principle he came to his great decision — the decision for health — and he was healed.

More and more people are finding release from mental and physical bondage through an enlightened sense of God. But I do want to emphasize that this requires some hard thinking. It takes the humility to lay aside old preconceptions and give honest consideration to radical spiritual facts. It takes the courage to protest against entrenched materialism. It

takes the willingness to change. It takes work. If you're looking for an easy way where you don't have to change the very bedrock of your thinking, then Science and Health is not the book for you.

This book dares each of us to change the basis of his thinking, just as the veteran I told you about. It dares us to rise up from self-satisfied materialism to a more spiritual outlook. And those who have the courage to accept the dare make new discoveries of what's true and real. It's like looking out through a window in a dark, gray wall and seeing man for the first time in the sunlight of spiritual reality — and then discovering that man is you! Science and Health helps us to see ourselves as God sees us — as His beloved, spiritual ideal. And it's a rather remarkable story how this book which has done so much, for so many, came to be written.

Today it's often believed that God spoke to humanity centuries ago in a remote period of history; but actually divine Principle, Love, speaks in every age to those who are prepared to hear. It was perfectly natural that Mary Baker Eddy, in our own age, caught the vision of God as divine Principle. She was ready. At a moment when she was almost overwhelmed by personal problems of many kinds, a lifetime of Bible study came to focus in a spiritual discovery that not only transformed her life, but introduced a new era for Christianity.

At one point in Science and Health she says, "When apparently near the confines of mortal existence, standing already within the shadow of the death-valley, I learned these truths in divine Science: that all real being is in God, the divine Mind, and that Life, Truth, and Love are all-powerful and ever-present" (p. 108). It was out of this new understanding of God and the change of thought it brought that Mrs. Eddy made her decision to write her book — a decision that has illuminated the lives of millions of people throughout the world. Mrs. Eddy was deeply convinced that God was directing her. The enlightenment of the Christ flooded her thought and she wrote with inspiration, explaining the divine Principle and Science of Jesus' teachings.

Science and Health doesn't attempt to give the answer to every life-problem. Rather, it penetrates the cold crust of literal Bible teaching to probe the deep spiritual meaning of the Scriptures and show us how to go individually to God for guidance. We begin to understand the Bible statement that God made man in His image and likeness. It becomes reasonable to know that God is our Life, and that our true, spiritual identity is God's indestructible expression. Science and Health illuminates the Bible with the assurance that God will lovingly unfold specific answers to all who understand and trust Him. For example, the road map you would use to reach a distant city doesn't show every curve and chuckhole, every hill and clump of trees. But it does show the route. If you follow it, you make right decisions along the way and reach your destination.

## Evil seen as a lie

How can you be sure that Science and Health isn't just another book expounding one more tiresome philosophy? Because it transforms thought. Read it. Discover for yourself the difference between human philosophy and the Science of Christ. Mrs. Eddy proved this Science by healing, and teaching her students to heal all human problems including disease. It's possible for you and me to make transforming decisions today because Science and Health elucidates for us the divine Science Jesus demonstrated.

Just how does this divine Science help us to change our thought and make the right decisions?

First of all, Science and Health shows us that good is God, divine Principle, and all that is real is the expression of God. All the qualities of good are individualized in God's thinking. It takes the humility to lay aside old preconceptions and give honest consideration to radical spiritual facts. It takes the courage to protest against entrenched materialism. It

between our natural good and the phenomena of evil that seem so real to our human senses.

This raises an age-old question. If God is supreme where does evil come from? But the mystery vanishes if we hold to God as infinite good and think of evil as simply the suppositional inversion of divine good. Good is real. Evil is the suppositional inversion. It's suppositional because God never made it. Jesus referred to evil as a liar, and elsewhere in the Bible evil is referred to as error.

But when evil, the inverse of good, is widely believed, even taught, it begins to be accepted as true. It might even seem to operate as a law and power producing untold confusion, discord and restriction.

For example, there was a time when men believed the earth was stationary and that the sun circled around it. This was an erroneous belief, yet it influenced the thinking of millions of people. Imagine the bad decisions which must have resulted from this error! But when Copernicus discovered that it's the other way around, that the earth orbits the sun, the error was corrected. This correction brought liberation and made it possible, centuries later, for our aerospace scientists to make the right decisions needed for an accurate moon-shot.

But their decisions depended largely on the use of instruments which are extensions of the physical senses, whereas spiritual sense goes much farther. Through spiritual sense we can differentiate between spiritual reality and erroneous, evil beliefs. We can protect ourselves from the enslavement of these beliefs. To do this we need the faculty of spiritual sense. Science and Health will help us develop this spiritual sense.

Science and Health corrects the belief that man's life and intelligence are in matter and explains the spiritual nature of man and his conscious relation to God, his divine Principle. This makes it possible for us to understand more clearly our true position in God's universe. Just as Copernicus taught the true relation of earth to sun, so Science and Health explains the relation of man to the central intelligence of the universe. This explanation enables us to make better decisions. We can claim our position in the heaven of spiritual understanding. We can occupy the place of our true identity.

The notion that you and I are basically physical, and that life is subject to matter, degrades instead of liberates our concept of ourselves as God's expression. We can break out of this crippling belief by learning how to differentiate between false beliefs based on evil as real, and spiritual facts based on good as the only reality. We begin to recognize our true identity as wholly spiritual and we experience the blessings that flow from this recognition.

Spiritual sense, then, is the ability to understand God, good, as the absolute reality and to differentiate clearly between the real and the unreal, the good and the evil. We can hold to the one and cast off the other. Spiritual sense is the window in the wall through which we can see beyond. With spiritual sense we see through the gray barrier of material sense. We might even exclaim, "Oh I see!" — and go on to make a better decision.

A friend of mine had an experience which illustrates the value of this cultivated spiritual sense. She told me that she had been troubled with a chronic throat problem which didn't seem to yield to her efforts to heal it through study and prayer. One day an acquaintance asked her the date of her birthday, and gave her a booklet on astrology which contained her horoscope. My friend had no interest in astrology, but as she glanced idly through the booklet she was surprised to find an actual prediction of throat trouble indicated under her date of birth, supposedly due to the aspect and position of the planets on that date.

Immediately she recognized her problem as the effect of materialistic, astrological superstition, widely held in the thoughts of millions of people. Unwittingly she had admitted its subtle suggestion into her own consciousness, and now it was producing physical disorder.

You'll remember I said spiritual sense is the ability to understand God, divine Truth, and distinguish between the real and the unreal. And I said that Science and Health helps us to understand God through the inspired message of the Bible. Well, my friend worked her way to a right conclusion by letting divine Principle give direction to her thought.

She began by firmly denying that the planets have any power to influence man. Insisting upon the all-power of God, good, she ruled out of consciousness the belief in a cruel power which could override God's loving care and produce suffering. She prayerfully acknowledged that God is the universal creator, as the Bible says, and that God is good. Then she concluded that God's universe and all it includes must be wholly good.

## Man has dominion

Science and Health says, "The planets have no more power over man than over his Maker, since God governs the universe; but man, reflecting God's power, has dominion over all the earth and its hosts" (p. 102). My friend reasoned from this that the intelligent control of a wholly good Principle can produce only blessing, not cursing. She saw that God is eternal Life and that she, as God's spiritual, individual expression had never been born into matter. Therefore, in reality there was no calendar, no date and hour, by which divine Love had her catalogue for suffering or evil of any kind. This reasoning, based on her spiritual conviction of the absolute supremacy of the divine Principle, Love, brought such mental release that she, like the veteran and like Mrs. Eddy, found herself deciding for health. The throat problem disappeared and it never returned.

Through spiritual sense my friend was able to differentiate between astrological fallacy claiming power to predetermine suffering for man, and the spiritual reality in which God is the only source of law and power. This brought her freedom. She proved that under God's law of love she, not other people's beliefs about the stars, held the power of decision.

Spiritual sense, then, is the perception that God, Spirit, is the divine Principle and governor of the universe. With this sense each one of us can differentiate between the real and the unreal, the good and the evil. We can make right decisions that heal and save us from disorder of every kind.

Spiritual sense enables us to make decisions that free us from suffering. It enables us to follow the compass of spiritual truth and hold our lives on a right course — toward all that is good and satisfying. We might call this the art of spiritual navigation.

One reason this thought of spiritual navigation has a special meaning for me is that I've seen it hold people on a true course. And I've seen it save others from disaster. I can look back in my own early experience and see how it guided me because a small seed of spiritual truth had taken root.

At the age of ten I was sent to a boys' school by loving parents who thought they were providing the finest educational environment for me. But it turned out to be otherwise. The bad associations I found there pulled me way off my right course. I began to lie and steal, and with this came that desolate feeling of not being respected by others, or even by myself. There was little supervision outside the classroom. The younger boys of my age were often slapped around by the older ones, and our vocabulary became the language of the gutter. I wasn't big enough to whip anybody and my encounters with others usually ended in bruises, frustration, and bitterness. The general influence was one to distort and twist the thought of a young boy and I followed it to the point of having a bad reputation.

But I can still remember two words which would come to my thought occasionally, words which I had heard earlier in the Christian Science Sunday School at home. They were strange words I didn't understand, faint sounds like a distant echo from another world. One was the word "divine." Another

was the word "omnipotent," whatever that meant.

The following year I was sent to another school, this time a school for the children of Christian Scientists. These kids were like any others, but they treated me differently. It was a small school located on a farm in Wisconsin and we each had our daily chores to do. I remember so clearly how, after supper was finished and we'd cleaned up the kitchen, we sat around the big table together and recited passages from the Bible and from Science and Health. One from Psalms I never forgot. "Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts: and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting" (Psalms 139:23, 24). A favorite from Science and Health which I learned at that time is: "The starting-point of divine Science is that God, Spirit, is All-in-all, and that there is no other might nor Mind, — that God is Love, and therefore He is divine Principle" (Science and Health, p. 276). So, I began to understand what the words "divine" and "omnipotent" meant.

Some years later, contrary to my parents' desire, I quit school and drifted around the country. I got into some tight spots, but those elementary lessons in spiritual navigation had started something. For one thing, I was now carrying the Bible and Science and Health in my pack-sack as I traveled, sometimes by motorcycle and sometimes hitchhiking. I'd get these books out and ponder their message whenever I could.

Gradually the idea of God as divine Principle began to penetrate my thought and awaken a sense of direction. My mental slide rule began to register a more accurate sense of values. It was as if the needle on my compass had finally been released so that it swung around and pointed steadfastly in one direction. It wouldn't countenance any contrary directions.

We learn this art of spiritual navigation as we understand that good, not evil, is the Principle and reality of our being. Through spiritual sense we differentiate between the true and the false. We learn the use of our intuitive slide rule so that we can more intelligently calculate true values. We learn how to adjust, with finer discrimination, our compass of spiritual sense. We learn how to interpret more perceptively the charts and records of those who have gone before us. We can read more accurately the constellations of spiritual Truth. We can hold our position in the forever of eternal Life. Instead of circling uncontrollably like a piece of junk in outer space, we can chart a true course with spiritually enlightened decisions.

## Divine guidance now

Now, it's been a long journey from the boys' school to my date with you here today; but couldn't we reasonably say that the course of this journey has unfolded under the guidance of divine Principle, God? And each of you — you're not here in this audience by accident. A right decision brought you here. The fact that all of our paths have converged to this central point today so that we can mutually bear witness to God's guidance illustrates the influence of divine Principle in the lives of those who seek Him, however uncertainly.

And I would ask you to think about this on your way home. The same infinitely intelligent God, divine Mind, which brought you here through right decision, is always with us to direct our way. An understanding of this tender, loving presence provides a sure basis for reasoning to right conclusions so that our finest decisions really come from God.

The question "Who is making your decisions?" will always be answered best in four words: "Thy will be done."

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A short article on Christian Science appears daily on The Home Forum page. Today's article is entitled: Need a good Samaritan?







## Don't push the river

"Don't push the river, it flows by itself."  
As I sit by the river Niger, at sunset, in the old capital of Segou in Mali, the title of the book by Barry Stevens comes to my mind. The Niger. What quiet ease. What power. What grace and gentleness. What a symbol of Africa.

After seven years in Africa, I know very little about this vast continent. The extraordinary richness, the exuberant abundance of this part of the world defies the imagination.

I have to laugh at myself when I think of the way I tried to understand Africa when I first arrived here, using the puny, unimaginative tools of social research that white Westerners have pushed onto Africa. Pages of statistics, volumes of "scientific" research, learned PhD dissertations. They are the best way not to understand "Darkest Africa." How many of us still think in those terms. What sad reflections of our sad little fears. Why do we Westerners have to impose the dark glasses of our prejudices onto the rest of the world in order to reinforce our pathetic conviction that we are the best?

I have stopped that silly game. I have started to listen. To feel. And as I listen with the ears of soul and look with the eyes of the heart, much beauty unfolds, many "dark areas" glow with the brightest light, many "foreign" people whose language I do not understand become friends.

Just this afternoon, in this town where I arrived only yesterday, I walk along the bank of the river Niger. Women washing, fisherman fishing... babies bathing... dozens of little young boys darting into the river, the sparkle of their laughter and joy accompanying the splash of water like bells. I stop. Immediately the children surround me, white teeth gleaming in their laughing faces. "Why don't you join us?" Embarrassed, I mutter self-consciously, "Well, we Westerners usually wear bathing suits when we bathe."

A young man joins me as I walk away. "Come and talk with me and my friends." His friendly invitation, his open face, are irresistible. When I join them, a dozen young men, I am accepted as if they had known me all their lives. We listen to music. We talk.

"Can you explain to me what all this talk about women's emancipation is about?" Segou is a devoutly Moslem town. There is no women's lib here, although girls now go to school. What common ground do I have with them? In appearance, everything separates us: culture, race, language, class, lifestyle, nationality, age. Yet we may have one common meeting ground.

I try. "The Koran says that God is merciful and good. It also states that God is infinitely just. Do you agree?" A murmur of agreement, nodded heads, follow my question.

"So, if God is infinitely just and good, He could not have created man and woman unequal, because that would have been unjust. Therefore, the injustices and inequalities were created through history by men who wanted to impose their domination over women. It is simply a form of fear, because one only attempts to dominate what one fears."

Everyone agrees. How amazing. The rest of the discussion is on how the inequalities were created, and what each one should do to overcome them.

Later, as I sit again by the river writing these lines, a man comes up to me. He speaks in Arabic. I grasp a few words. He seems to be an Islamic scholar. Yet, if his words

remain strange, his smile, the love in his eyes do not. The face is as gentle as the sun setting on the river, warm, radiating light. As we part, he calls God's blessing upon me. I do the same. This is all natural here.

The river continues to flow, peaceful, majestic, serene. Nobody tries to push it. All, here, are flowing in the current of life. The current carries them very gently.

Oh, the gentleness of black Africa. The light, the human warmth, the embrace of the heart meet one everywhere. Always the children run up to you, trusting, joyful. If there is one word above all I would use to describe this part of Africa, it would be gentleness.



"A Child of Senegal": Photograph by Pierre Pillet

Courtesy of UNICEF, Geneva, Switzerland

What is civilization? If there is any one place in the world I have met a "civilization of the heart" it is in rural Africa. "You romantic idealist." I can already hear the voices of Those Who Know. But I cannot pretend to know. I am trying to listen and learn. Can one do more? For is it not better "to be silent and be taken for a fool, than to speak and remove all doubt?"

We in the West have been pushing the river. Frantically. For two centuries. With what results? Disasters.

As for those who wish to listen, I say: Let us learn from Africa. Do not push the river. It is flowing with the stream.

"You mean, learn something from these

primitive Africans!" Those Who Know mention Idi Amin, the Angola massacres, the Sahel drought -- all the comfortable excuses for our fear and self-righteousness. "You idealize Africa!"

But is it not more honest to recognize that we all project onto "reality" what we carry in our hearts? If our hearts are old, or tired, or cynical, or self-satisfied, thus shall we see the world. But if we are still, and let the youthful expectation of love and goodness fill our hearts, we will see goodness and love all around us. They are there, waiting to be seen.

Pierre Praderwand is currently Director of The International Research Center in Dakar, Senegal.

## Discovery

I've never seen a jungle  
yet of a certainty

I know  
how the sun keeps trying to shine  
through  
how flowers continue to bloom  
in the almost darkness  
thick fragrances saturate the air  
green heaviness closes in.

I know, too,  
how a jungle captures even the resisting  
with the beat of its fierce

rhythm.  
And,  
resisting not, I listen to its untamed  
cadence:

become enamored of its  
tangled splendor.

Charmed,  
I wander in the labyrinth: wander in the  
jungle mist

that rises up to meet the  
warm rain  
sifting, dripping through  
the branches  
till,  
startled by a sudden light,  
I hurry forward to a patch of brilliance

and  
awake --  
awake to a fourth dimension within the  
confines  
of my own small green-  
house.

Marjorie Darling

## Waiting is activity

The dog was restless that night so I took her out as I was wakeful too. It was an hour or so before dawn, and I felt it unnecessary to put on more than a light dressing gown. Who could possibly be on the green at that hour, unless they had urgent reason, or, like myself, were in a period of waiting that somehow gives one a right to act on impulse, obey a whim. In either case they would fully understand, consider it quite normal, or not even notice a waiting-clad figure.

A time of waiting has a strange, essential effect on the one involved. There comes a point where self-knowledge plunges deeper than before. As the busy activities, the energetic excursions here and there, the planned time, the pursuit of a career, that were so important, become for a while impossible and irrelevant I am forced to assess their value and worth in my life. This was going to be a well-filled summer: I would pass contemplative hours by the river and roam far afield. I would spend days in London, visiting exhibitions, theatres, friends.

I was unable to go to the river, but I find the silver-blown willow leaves shining over the water, are a permanent part of me and the river itself -- the river flows and quickens in sudden movements of intense joy, in quiet pools of deep wonder. I discover nothing is lost by not having the physical contact. The need to go out to find stimu-

lation at exhibitions or the theatre dwindled as patterns of living in a new way took on form, color and structure and a different dialogue began to develop in unexpected areas. At this time a more searching look into life gives an impetus that reaches further.

Waiting is not negative or passive: it is an active process when thinking delves into and beneath. I begin to see that a too busy life without periods of waiting could result in more skimming across thought, ideas, living, people. It comes in many ways and could last for a few minutes or several months, perhaps years. It involves recognition and acknowledgment. Before and during the waiting there is awareness: awareness that something is about to happen; awareness of change, a reaching out, awareness of the need to alter course, move in a different direction. This awareness calms the waiting and smooths the rough edges of expectancy.

My pre-dawn walk was dramatically accompanied by sudden flashes of midsummer lightning. The familiar shape of the green sprung into clarity and sharp focus, then submerged in a blur. The storm broke just after dawn and the rain came. The earth gathered and absorbed, releasing a new day of wet and wonderful freshness. We had all been waiting for the rain.

Susan Morrison

## African soliloquy

We are the mediators of the human race  
The raw material of the earth  
Love is our breakfast  
Unity is our luncheon  
Joy is our dinner  
Some call our gifts to humanity  
Negritude; Black power; Pan Africanism;  
Some call it soul but soul is  
Reflected by anyone who bathes in the  
Radical stream of good  
What is our mission African kin?  
Our mission is to join others in  
Christianizing Christendom

Cleo Sripa Jr.

## Miniatures

Love is inner  
the outer symbol  
comes or goes

dear symbol  
stay a little

take care:  
small verses  
may be heavy  
on the other heart

Eather Whitmarsh

## The Monitor's religious article

### God is near

Having a telephone number or name of someone to contact in case of dire need can provide a sense of security. But one cannot always have access to a phone, or be near a neighbor. What does he do then?

The best thing, He can always turn in complete confidence to God, divine Love, who, the Bible assures us repeatedly, is an ever-present, unfailing help in any kind of trouble.

Christ Jesus realized fully the inseparability of man from God, divine Spirit. He said, "He that sent me is with me: the Father hath not left me alone."\* The Way-shower knew that man is God's child, whose real being eternally abides in security and harmony. Each one of us who discerns our real being as God's spiritual reflection can know Jesus' comforting assurance.

Many are mastering fear and proving its unreality through applying the liberating, strengthening, spiritual truths learned in Christian Science, which closely follows the words and works of the Way-shower. They are discovering that true security is found in their consciousness of God's ever-presence and unerring control.

In the words of the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy: "The sweet, sacred sense and permanence of man's unity with his Maker, in Science, illumines our present existence with the ever-presence and power of God, good."\*\*

I experienced this "sacred sense" of God's nearness one day last winter. With other members of our car pool, I left work early because of a severe snowstorm. We were going along fine when the car hit an icy spot and went out of control. Not one word was spoken during the next few seconds, which seemed like an eternity. Believe me, we were all praying. The instant the car veered out of control, I knew, with absolute certainty, that not one of us could be hurt. I knew that nothing could separate us from divine Love. Even as we spun wildly, it was completely clear to me that God is the one Truth, the only power. Still spinning, we crossed over three lanes of traffic, hit the median divider, bounced off and skidded back again across the lanes of traffic. When the car finally stopped, there was a deep feeling of gratitude to God for our recovery. Almost at once a policeman was there to help us with our car. While we were waiting at the station for a friend to pick us up, we were wonderfully free from shock and fear over what had just occurred, another proof of the calm security that can be found in God.

Christian Science reveals that the real man is spiritual, not material, not found by human circumstances, not at the mercy of material events. One does not have to go to some place or person to find help; he needs to understand and affirm his inseparability from God, divine Life, Truth, and Love. God's child, which is the true selfhood of you and me and of all men, can never, for even an instant, be deprived of his Father-Mother God's loving care, never out of his God-provided place of spiritual security.

## BIBLE VERSE

And we know that all things  
work together for good to them  
that love God, to them who are  
the called according to his pur-  
pose.

Romans 8:28

Mrs. Eddy says of the need to realize our spiritual security: "Can Life die? Can Truth be uncertain? Can Love be less than boundless? . . . Our surety is in our confidence that we are indeed dwellers in Truth and Love, man's eternal mansion."†

We are counseled in the Bible, "Be not afraid of sudden fear, . . . when it cometh."†† Equipped with a provable understanding of God's supreme government of all His creation, we never have to give in to fear. No matter what the situation, we can remain perfectly calm, convinced of man's uninvulnerable safety as God's tenderly beloved child.

\*John 8:29; \*\*Miscellaneous Writings, p. 196; †Pulpit and Press, p. 3; ††Proverbs 3:25.

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# OPINION AND...

## Now the Scots can afford Scotland

By George Malcolm Thomson  
London

Scottish Nationalism is an inevitable result of British Socialism.

Let me explain.

When I was a boy living in Edinburgh in the first two decades of the century, the railways of Scotland were owned and run from within the borders of Scotland. So were the Scottish coal mines, the Scottish ironworks and steel foundries.

Now with "nationalization" (as it is called), all these basic heavy industries and services are controlled from London. And the growing power of the state over industrial policy generally plus the tendency of private enterprise to centralize meant that fundamental decision-making in countless other formerly Scottish businesses is centered in London to a degree which would have been dismissed as unthinkable a generation ago.

But what might have been merely an occasion for simmering resentment has, quite suddenly, approached explosion point. The reason is simple enough.

The Scots, an emotional but essentially realistic, people have always been aware of their country's limited resources. Now, in the

last few years, they have been presented with a sensational and unexpected increment of natural wealth — the oil in the North Sea, most of which lies within that section of the continental shelf which is off the Scottish coast.

This event has blotted out, almost overnight, the argument of level-headed Scots that, while self-government might be a fine and historically justified idea, Scotland could not afford it.

In consequence of the change, Scottish Nationalism, which used to be the hobby of a handful of romantic gentlemen wearing the kilt, became a practical concern for thousands of intelligent business men and women. And, over a few years, the Scottish National Party — whose ideal is national independence — has become the second strongest party in the country.

It has eleven members in the present British House of Commons. Its candidates, at the last election, were lying second in so many constituencies that a five percent swing of the votes in their direction would make the Nationalists the first party in Scotland. Such a swing is confidently predicted by the Nationalists and gloomily feared by the present majority Labour party in Scotland.

For, simultaneously with the rise of Nationalism, the steam has gone out of Socialism. It has become respectable — and boring. Nationalism has taken on the glamour of rebellion which attracts young people to political movements.

This is the background to the present debate about "devolution" which has taken the English public so much by surprise.

Reluctantly, and in alarm about what might befall them if they took no action, the Labour government has produced proposals for a "Scottish Assembly," which will manage £2,000 million so revenue granted them by the British Treasury; the Assembly will have power over Scottish affairs such as housing, the social services and education.

But it will have no power over the Scottish economy (to say nothing of foreign affairs and defense).

These proposals are denounced by the Conservatives as going too far in the direction of breaking up the unity of the United Kingdom. They are regarded as derisively inadequate by the Scottish Nationalists.

But what matters most is the effect which the proposals will have on the opinion of ordinary people in Scotland and England. What seems most likely is that, if the Scots are

to be denied control over their economy — above all, the oil — they will think that they are being offered the shadow and not the substance of self government.

The political influence and power of the Nationalists will probably be strengthened. The urge to widen the powers they have been conceded will grow. And the "Assembly" will be used as an instrument in that process of enlargement. In other words, the fears of the Conservatives are likely to be realized.

At present, 20 percent of the Scottish people want "independence," 50 percent want "devolution," a term which is not capable of exact definition but which means some degree of local self-government within a United Kingdom; 30 percent want no change.

As the debate proceeds, I should expect to see a stronger demand in Scotland for control over the economy, over industry and, above all, over the oil, that symbol of nationalist ambition and acquisitiveness.

But Scotland is not the only country involved in this argument. What of England? Will there be a realization in that country that the English, too, are a nation?

An English "backlash" may be awaited with some confidence.

Melvin Maddocks

## 'But nobody snoozes off in the city'

When 3,000 or so New Yorkers, including Helen Hayes, Leonard Bernstein, and Woody Allen, descended on Times Square last week as if it were the village green to sing folk songs like "New York, New York, it's a wonderful town," the spectacle was as incongruous as it was oddly touching. Here stood the supersophisticated inhabitants of one of the toughest cities in the world turned by hard times into an instant community — behaving like Just Plain Folks at a "Save-Our-Auxiliary-Fire-Department" box-supper picnic.

Meanwhile, the Just Plain Folks in the heartland — the hicks in the sticks to whom generations of New Yorkers have said mix — are not exactly losing their precious sleep over the plight of the Big Apple. Gloating might be too strong a word. Again, it might not.

What is it about New York that so irritates people? — not excluding those who live there. Here follows a list of the classic grumbles:

Megacity reduces life to terminal superficiality. "Everyone dresses smartly, beyond his means. Thinking only of the impression we make, we live in a state of pretentious poverty."

The jungle really is a jungle, especially at night: "Only a fool would go out to dinner without having made his will."

Ah, the traffic! Oh, the noise! In spite of all the other risks, people finally "perish for want of sleep."

Then there are the landlords. The owner "props up his tottering house, covers over gaping cracks in the walls, and tells his tenants to sleep peacefully under a roof ready to cave in."

Money is the only value. "People without money should have marched out as a body years ago."

Terrible indictments, really. The only thing is, they were not made against New York but against Rome, by Juvenal, almost 1,900 years ago.

Just possibly we (and Juvenal) should be a bit more charitable toward New York and cities in general. To begin with, maybe we ought to give up asking cities to be restful or uncrowded or friendly or even clean — all the things they are not.

Cities, historians should remind us, began as walled fortresses. War and siege tend to be their metaphors. "Every city," Plato wrote, "is in a natural state of war with every other." And of course every city is composed of a thousand little civil wars — more or less under control — which are called by names like the marketplace, the courts, and downtown traffic.

Struggling to sum up the psyche of the city, Lewis Mumford speaks of "intensified anxiety and aggression" — a "state of dynamic tension and interaction." (Prose about the city leans toward the clinical.)

The faults of cities — see the file on Babylon — have been obvious and flagrant since well before Juvenal. But cities also have their charms — Juvenal, after all,

stayed on in Rome, complaining, an awfully long time.

Cities possess energy like nothing else on earth except beehives. They are awake — they are on — 24 hours a day. People may go balm, but nobody snoozes off in the city.

Clutching one's wallet, assaulted by buses, taxis, and even pedestrians, overcome with selection — 50 choices of everything thrust under if not up to the nose — one is at least hyperactively alive.

The city — indeed the world these days — is too hectic a place for wisdom, a word we may have to phase out as used with the present tense. But as for sheer awareness and quick quick intelligence, the city stimulates these in people the way a fox stimulates speed in a rabbit.

"It's a dirty city, but it's not a dumb city," Dustin Hoffman said at the Times Square rally, giving New York either a new slogan or its epitaph.

Only a domino theory seems to make non-New Yorkers willing to help out, and if they do, New York may become the second-least-popular cause to Saigon. But New York is more than just a native enclave. It is still the front edge of American experience: national life in double-time, determined to be first with what's next, even if it's bankruptcy.

If nothing else, New York now poses Mumford's ultimate question: "Will the city disappear or will the whole planet turn into a vast urban hive?" After having our laugh at the expense of the city slicker outleaked, we non-New Yorkers will do well to think about that question with a little of the frenzied superattentiveness of a New Yorker. For the point is, the future — once the city-man's characteristic obsession — has become everybody's problem.

Joseph C. Harsch

## The nub of the Middle East problem

An important change is to be noted in the context of the search for a Middle East peace. From now on, the Palestinians are to be included in the process. This means that instead of just negotiating over state boundaries the parties will at long last begin thinking seriously of how to fit the unsettled, fragmented, and resentful Palestinians into a future settlement.

Israel has long tried to defer this moment. But a majority in the UN's Security Council favors hearing the Palestinians. The American delegation has decided to stand on the sidelines and allow the change to happen. This is in itself a method of prodding Israel into fresh thinking about the Palestinians. In effect, Washington is saying to Israel that the subject can no longer be avoided. Here are some of the angles of the problem.

There are a million and a half Palestinians who still live in refugee camps scattered all over the Middle East because they refuse to accept as their rightful and permanent homes anything other than the villages and farms from which they came in what is now the state

of Israel. They claim the right to go back. They want to go back.

But if they did ever go back to Israel the population balance in that country would be altered radically.

At present there are 450,000 Arabs in Israel and 2,700,000 Jews. Israel is predominantly a country of Jews among whom a small minority of Arabs live. If anything like a million and a half Arabs were allowed to return to their original homes Israel would at once be a country with a large and growing Arab minority which might well become an eventual majority.

If all Palestinians were allowed to return at will to their ancestral homes Israel would at once be a predominantly Arab state. There are about three million Palestinians in all who live outside of the military frontiers of Israel. No one knows how many of those who have made lives for themselves outside of the refugee camps would also return if they could. Certainly some, probably not all. But any settlement of the Palestine refugee problem which would satisfy the bulk of the Palestinians would certainly mean an Arab majority in

the territories now under Israeli military control. And it could easily mean Arabs outnumbering Israelis even inside the boundaries of the formal state of Israel.

Is there any settlement of the Palestinian problem which would not lead eventually to a decisive Arab majority in all of the territories which used to be called Palestine, and even in that part of Palestine which is now Israel?

Israel has always hoped that eventually the Palestinians would be resettled outside of Israel. In theory it might be done. There is certainly enough Arab oil money for resettlement. And many a Palestinian has settled in other countries. But the other Arab countries resist. The Palestinian is different. The others find him too energetic. And, he tends to think of himself as a Palestinian and tends to want to go home.

But Israel would cease to be Israel if the Arabs outnumbered the Jews in Israel. There might still be a Jewish homeland in Palestine by Arab consent. But it could hardly be a state run by Jews for Jews if the Arabs outnumbered the Jews.

A lot of effort was spent in Washington in

the Eisenhower era on this problem. A plan was worked out for the economic development of the Jordan Valley. In theory a cooperative effort involving Israel and the Arabs together with American funding, could provide enough new employment for the whole Palestinian community — outside of Israel proper.

So far all such ideas have foundered on the incompatibility of the Palestinian urge to return to their native towns and villages with the concept of a state of Israel which exists for Jews.

And the Palestinians are just as determined to go home now as they were 20 years ago. The problem does not go away.

Yet so long as this Palestinian urge exists Israel's very nature remains in question. Israel can be secure with Arab consent. It can never be totally secure so long as it is surrounded by unreconciled Arabs.

If there is some day to be a reconciliation that day is probably far in the future. But that day has to be made. That is what is happening right now. The start is being punctuated by guerrilla raids and regular bombs. But there is also a new start to thinking.

# COMMENTARY

## Readers write

## On Britain, the IRA, and the U.S. Embassy in Taiwan

The argument in Britain as to the injustice of the present election system on the one hand and the anachronistic features of the Upper House on the other, can surely be solved logically and sensibly by changing the House of Lords to a body mainly elected by proportional representation, with a minority of appointees from the political parties.

would be dealt a severe blow and the ends of justice be served.

In principle, I suggest this solution would give satisfaction to the country as a whole, though the details would obviously require extremely careful drafting.

Orpington, Kent, England

Joy Cawdron

### The Irish dilemma

At one fell swoop we would retain the desirable and remove the objectionable features of the present: we would have both proportional representation and the constituency system; the expertise and advice of able people not involved in politics would still be available; the curb of quieter deliberation would continue as a brake on rash legislation; the present polarization to extremes of political thought would be undermined; the Upper House, by virtue of election, would feel on a firmer ground in frustrating any policy of the House of Commons. The principle of heredity

The courageous article of Mr. Remy prompts me to send you my plea to invite the vox pupuli to write their suggestions how to bring to an end this infamous slaughter.

What can you do with people that wield an electric drill to destroy the victims' kneecaps? An eye for an eye, retribution, punishment, revenge, or anything motivated by hatred just doesn't come in. One could only take these elements out of circulation — for good, without giving grist to the mill of a future kidnapper in their "noble" liberation game. I tremble to think of the logic of this

having belonged to the anti-capital punishment lobby.

The second thought is the realization of the historical background and that this falls under the heading: Sow the wind and reap the whirlwind. So maybe we must open our doors to the loyalists who might wish to leave once the step of relinquishment was taken.

I write as one who feels so horrified at the casual mention of yet another innocent victim. Ashted, Surrey, England

Ruth Koch

### U.S. Embassy in Taiwan

Mr. Charles Yost argued in his column that shifting the U.S. Embassy from Taiwan to Peking need not imply "abandonment" of Taiwan but merely conformity with the pattern followed by Japan and some other countries.

It seems to me that Mr. Yost has neglected the psychological impact of such a move. First of all, to shift the Embassy will be a

tremendous blow to the morale of the Chinese in Taiwan. Remember the collapse of China that preceded the fall of Cambodia and Vietnam? Although the anti-Communist spirit and will to fight in Taiwan are surely higher than was the case in Cambodia and Vietnam, Taiwan still needs moral support. In fact, that is the only support she needs. The Nationalist government has made it clear that it does not want the Americans to shed blood for her. In this sense, shifting the Embassy could only be interpreted as an intention to abandon Taiwan.

Second, as far as the United States is concerned, sacrificing a loyal friend to appease an old enemy will do irreparable damage to America's free world leadership. Why cannot Japan win the respect of Asian countries? Righteousness contributes more to "charisma" than appeasement. The United States does not need to conform to the pattern of politically small countries.

Athens, Ga.

Chen-sheng Chung

Charles W. Yost

## Angola: freedom without peace

Washington

One of the largest and richest countries of Africa, until recently the crown jewel of the Portuguese Empire, is being cruelly torn apart by personal, ideological, and strategic rivalries.

It is probable that the vast majority of its six million people could not care less whether they are governed by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, or National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. Like most people they no doubt only wish, now that national independence has been achieved, to improve their lot and to live in peace.

Unfortunately the three liberation movements have been fighting not only the Portuguese but each other for a decade and a half. As independence approached, the Organization of African Unity made strenuous efforts to bring them together in a coalition government. However, accommodations among them lasted no longer than similar truces in Lebanon and Northern Ireland.

To what extent this intractability is due to the personal ambitions of leaders and to what extent to genuine political differences it would be hard to say. In any case both ambitions and

differences are magnified by the escalating intervention of outsiders.

Angola and its dependent enclave of Cabinda have the misfortune to be rich in minerals, oil and coffee, to contain the rail route by which most Zambian copper is exported, and to be strategically located between Zaire and South Africa. These tempting assets seem to have sharpened the appetites of both neighboring and distant powers.

It is impossible to know how accurate or how inflated may be reports of arms, mercenaries, and "military advisers" being introduced into Angola, but the amounts are certainly large and the consequences disastrous.

The Soviets, Cubans, and some Africans are supporting the Popular Movement, Zaire, the United States, and China are supporting the National Front. The National Union, which is for the moment allied with the front, is being assisted by South Africa.

So considerable has Soviet and Cuban help to the Popular Movement become that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger felt it necessary on Nov. 24 publicly to warn both, asserting that Soviet intervention is "difficult to reconcile with the principles of coexistence signed in 1972" by Brezhnev and Nixon.

## The Democrats search for a candidate

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Washington

The traveling reporter usually asks the questions — but he also gets a lot of questions. And the most persistent one comes out of a perplexity that people have about the inability of the Democrats to come up with a candidate that is widely perceived to be of presidential stature.

Oh yes, Senator Kennedy is so viewed by many Democrats — probably because they see something of John F. Kennedy in the Massachusetts Senator. But Kennedy is not a candidate. So he says. And there are, indeed, compelling reasons to take the Senator at his word.

And Robert Humphrey has a "presidential image," among many people. But he's not in the open-candidacy field. And the very fact that the Democrats are looking in his direction — toward a man who is somewhat shopworn by his long quest for the presidency — shows how less-than-promising the current top-candidate field of presidential hopefuls is regarded by party members.

Why — people ask — are the Democrats so deficient in an outstanding candidate? For the answer it is useful to look back to the days of Franklin Roosevelt and remember how devoid the Republicans were of candidates who were being widely perceived as "presidential timber." FDR so dominated the

American scene that although he was heavily disliked by many — as well as being loved by a large majority — it was difficult to find any Republican, talented as he might be, who looked as awesomely presidential as this powerful figure in the White House.

FDR is an extreme example. But he vividly illustrates how the president does "have" a tremendous political advantage — because of public exposure — over leaders in the opposition party. And, also, the FDR period shows how the out-of-power party tends at such times to look highly deficient of possible presidential-stature contenders. The Republicans had to look high and low before finding a former Democrat — Wendell Willkie — who did have that presidential look, in the eyes of many. But he did not have enough allure to win. And, finally, to find a winner the Republicans came up with a famous general who really hadn't been a member of any party (Eisenhower had been less-than-promising the current top-candidate field of presidential hopefuls is regarded by party members).

Eisenhower as President for two terms did much the same thing to the Democrats, becoming such a towering figure that as time went on no Democrat looked sufficiently presidential by comparison. Actually, Adlai Stevenson was "presidential timber" indeed.

And he looked very much so in 1962 when both he and Eisenhower were fresh figures on the presidential scene. But the longer that Eisenhower remained in the presidency the less sure the Democrats became that Stevenson "had the stuff." Much of this was because Eisenhower, once ensconced in his position of executive power, looked bigger and bigger. And Stevenson suffered by the inevitable comparison.

John F. Kennedy, one must remember, first gained his presidential luster when Vice-President Richard Nixon, in a sense, gave it to him by agreeing to the debates. And it was in the first debate, with a large segment of the American public watching the TV screen and hanging on each word, that Kennedy was perceived as a man dealing with both Nixon and the issues with great poise and intelligence. That was the moment when Kennedy came out from under the disadvantage of looking less than presidential.

Lyndon Johnson and the Democrats tended to demoralize the Republicans and make it difficult to find a powerful GOP candidate, one who could score well at the polls. Then Johnson was rebuffed by his own party because of the Vietnam war — and this provided the opportunity for a Nixon who may well have won in 1968 more because of the

war-divided and war-discredited Democratic Party than because he was so widely viewed as being presidential. Nixon had lost most of this "presidential look" in his losses to Kennedy and to Governor Brown in California.

Now the Republicans will have been in the White House for eight years. But Nixon, too, was discredited. This, of itself, should have helped the Democrats to come up with a highly attractive candidate. Obviously when Nixon was riding high, he had come again to look presidential. And in 1972 one of McGovern's problems was that he did not, to many, look as presidential as the man in the White House. But Nixon fell from that height — and opened up the door to a Democrat.

Yet no Democratic candidate widely acknowledged to have the "presidential look" has come forward. Doubtless Gerald Ford has moved into the presidency with sufficient aplomb, strength and candor to make it difficult for the Democrats to come up with someone who looks as "presidential" by comparison. That is, it seems that his being in the White House even a short time has given Ford this "presidential" advantage — an advantage he holds, too, over fellow Republican Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Sperling is chief of the Washington bureau of The Christian Science Monitor.